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Communal Ethics of Eroticism & Free Love

Also: Stopping the Machine; Anxiety
Disorders & Other Modern Evils; The
Tao of Capitalism; Saying No to Nader

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Fifth estate

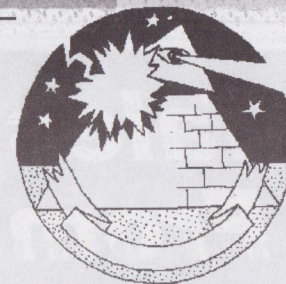
World Wide
Protests
Against
Corporate Rule
Rock the World

Anarchists among the anti-WTO demonstrators in Prague, September 2000

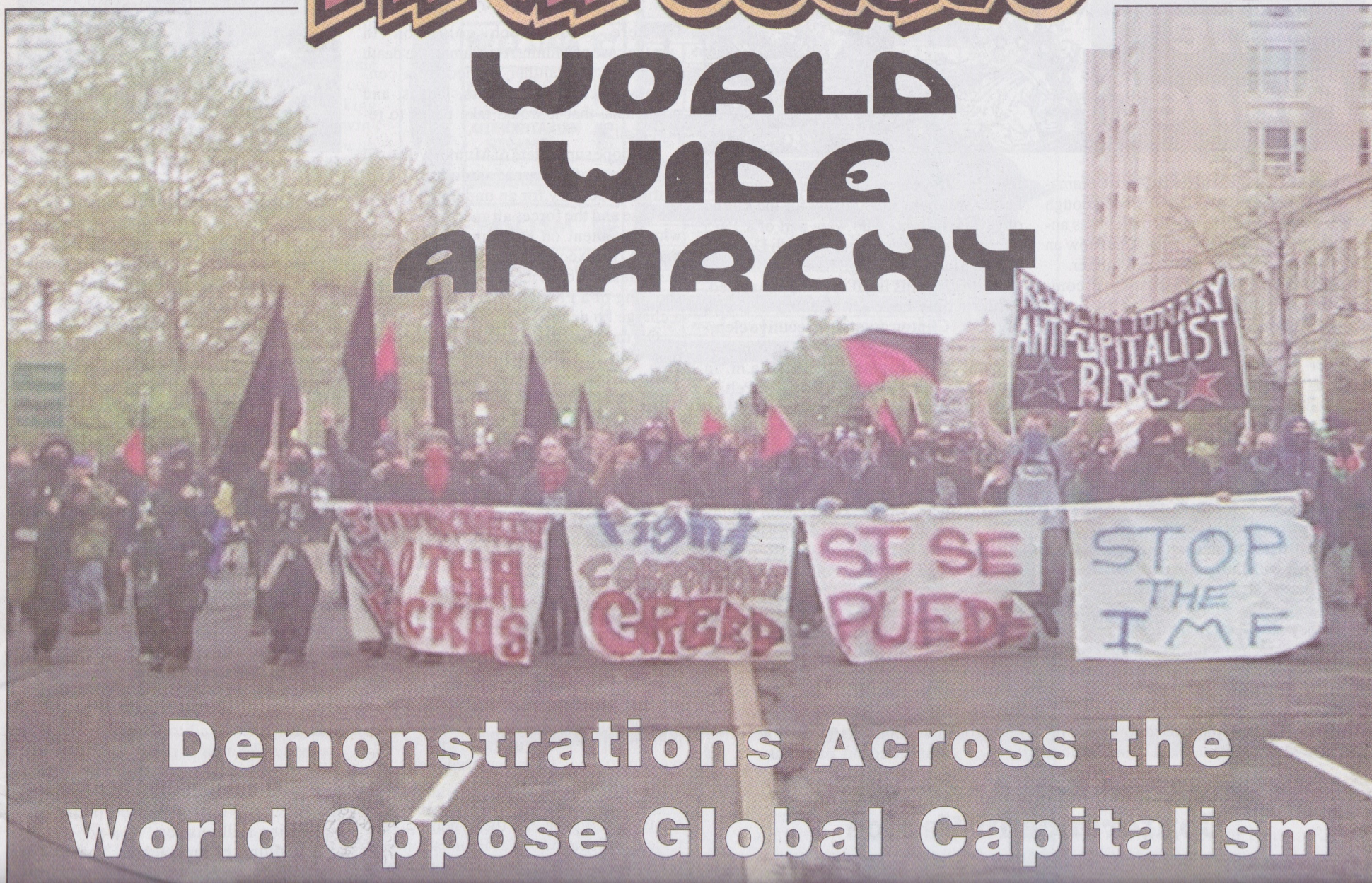
See Centerfold Special
on recent actions

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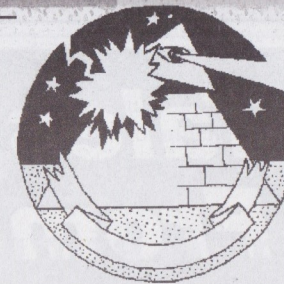
WORLD WIDE ANARCHY



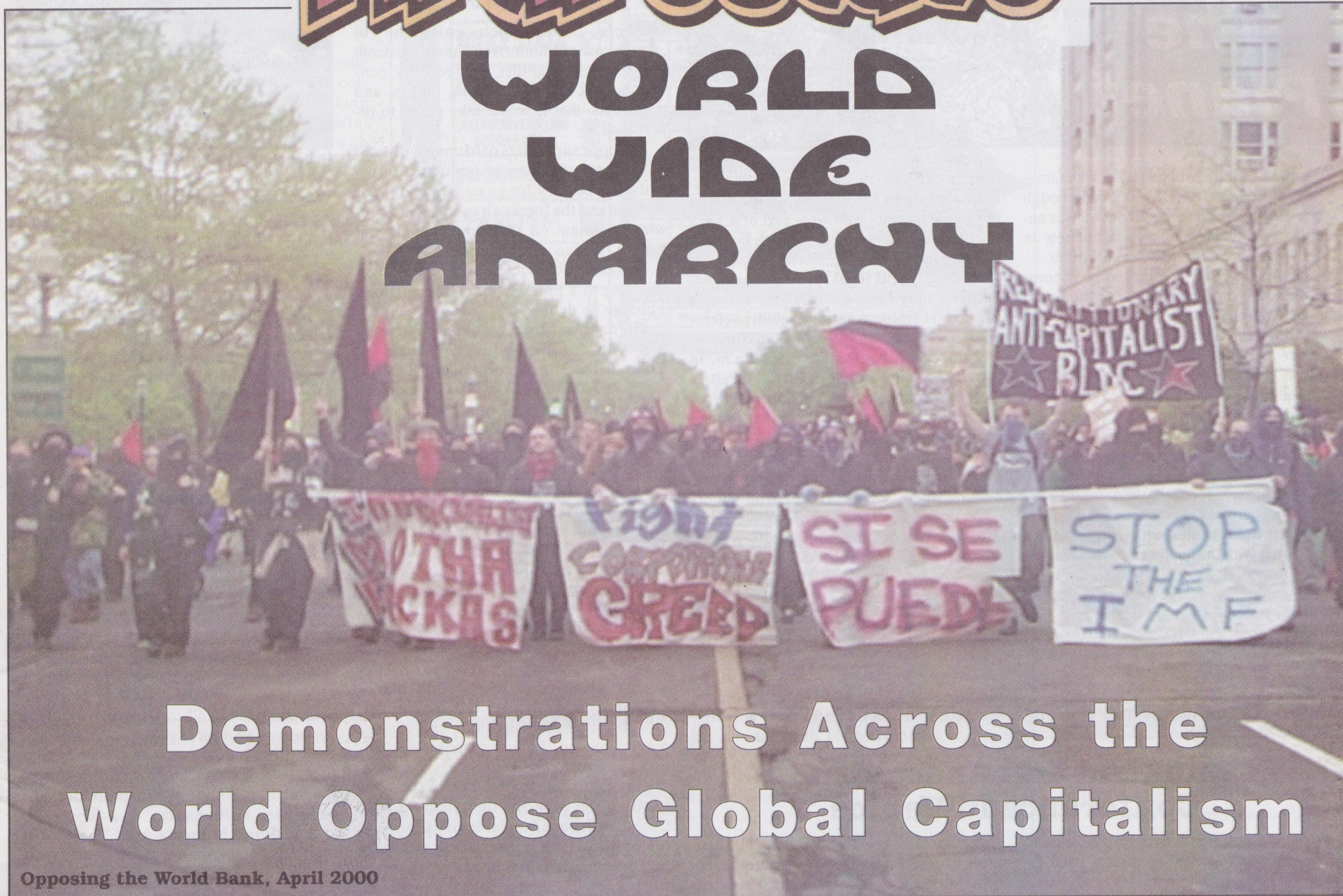
**Demonstrations Across the
World Oppose Global Capitalism**

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WORLD WIDE ANARCHY



**Demonstrations Across the
World Oppose Global Capitalism**

Opposing the World Bank, April 2000

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by Walker Lane

The June 4-6 demonstrations against the meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Detroit and Windsor, Ontario, its Canadian sister city across the river were Seattle, Washington DC, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles in miniature.

Although only 400-500 participated in Detroit and 4,000 in Windsor, the same elements were present that marked the other, larger actions. Of primary importance was the success by a small band of activists in bringing public attention to another previously all but unknown asso-

ciation of governments and multinational corporations setting up plans to exploit more people and destroy more of the environment.

Before Seattle, many people might have thought the WTO was a wrestling

federation; similarly the June protest actions brought an awareness, not only of the OAS, but also of its intent to establish the Free Trade Association of the Americas (FTAA)—a NAFTA on steroids for the entire Western hemisphere.

The OAS is a coalition of the 35 countries of the Western Hemisphere, but the U.S., for all practical purposes, has controlled its policies for its own imperial needs since its inception.

The FTAA was originally proposed in 1994 and would constitute an expansion of NAFTA to the entire hemisphere. With it would come the penetration of U.S., Canadian, and Brazilian capital into impoverished, debt-ridden countries in Central and South America. As with other globalization strategies, it would mean the further exploitation of labor, and degradation of the environment by the elimination of so-called barriers to trade, i.e., local laws and regulations which currently give at least scant protection to people and nature in those countries.

Most of us had never heard of the proposed FTAA until a group of Toronto activists alerted us to the planned meeting in Windsor, and began organizing against it. The stealth in which the FTAA was cloaked is typical of the manner of launching and operating supranational organizations, such as the WTO and World Bank, which act in the service of international



Detroit Anti-OAS demonstration, June 6. —photo Rebecca Cook

A quarterly publication cannot hope to keep up with fast breaking events such as the actions that have taken place against capitalist rule over the last year. However, we think it is urgent to report these stories to encourage more such activity, and also, if even belatedly, to counteract the lies posing in the corporate media as news.

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Tales From The Planet



Quick! Call the Anarchist Anti-Defamation League (AADL). It's bad enough when every corporate media outlet uses anarchism as a synonym for chaos, but now an English company has gone even further.

Superdrug PLC is marketing a commercial bath product line using the brand name "Anarchy," complete with a circle A over the first letter, which includes a body shower gel they call "Havoc." "Wreak Havoc," the plastic container urges; "Get Refreshed."

Should we seek copyright protection, or just suggest the London comrades pay their shop a visit next May Day?

Another case for the AADL might well be an ad for Dawn Farm, an Ann Arbor, Mich. detox center, which ran an ad in a local paper with the headline, "We Treat Addicts: That's all we do." Next to the type, inexplicably, was a large anarchist circle A. Since they obviously don't treat people "addicted" to anarchism, it's just another smear. They ask in their ad to be called at 734-485-8725.

The fight to free imprisoned American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier

from his 25-year nightmare is heightening. Peltier was convicted falsely for the killing of two FBI agents who were part of a 1975 government invasion force at North Dakota's Oglala Sioux Pine Ridge Reservation.

With all of his legal appeals exhausted, Peltier's only hope for freedom lies with President Clinton granting executive clemency at the end of his term. On Sunday, December 10, beginning at 9:30 a.m. in Battery Park in New York City, the Peltier Defense Committee is sponsoring a Freedom March to urge the President to take such action.

Unfortunately, a recommendation for clemency is in the hands of right-wing congressman, Henry Hyde, who vigorously opposes Peltier's freedom. The ranking Democrat on the committee, Rep. John Conyer's of Detroit, a Peltier supporter, was not even informed that Hyde had begun an investigation of the case or that only evidence from the FBI, which wants Peltier jailed until he dies, is being considered.

Peltier's release is supported by other members of Congress, Nobel laureates, numerous human rights groups including

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Mumia Appeal At Critical Phase

There is so much going on in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the death row ex-Black Panther framed by a conspiracy of cops, prosecutors, judges, and politicians, that it would take pages to report it all.

We hope supporters of Mumia will avail themselves of the great amount of information necessary for an understanding of the case and the forces aligned against him who are intent on strapping an innocent man to the execution gurney.

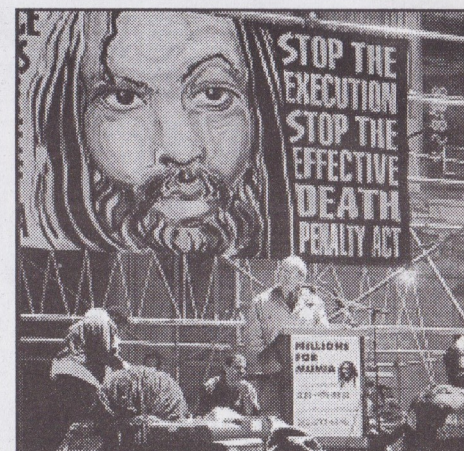
Jamal was convicted of the fatal 1981 shooting of a Philadelphia police officer, a charge he denies.

On the legal front, Mumia's fate may rest with one man—Judge William H. Yohn of the 3rd Circuit Federal District Court in Philadelphia, who will soon decide whether or not Mumia receives an "evidentiary hearing," the first crucial step in overturning the perjury- and racist-tainted original trial.

If the court denies the motion, all appeals will be based on the trial record of Philadelphia hanging judge Albert Sabo, an ex-sheriff intent on adding Mumia to his string of executed defendants.

Ominously, Judge Yohn has refused to accept four so-called amicus briefs—ones entered by interested parties and often a part of important cases. They were submitted by several civil rights and liberties groups, associations of lawyers, and 22 members of the British Parliament. Although all of the briefs contend Mumia was railroaded, Yohn declared them "unnecessary and unhelpful."

Hmm, "unhelpful," eh? Only if you're knotting the rope for the lynching. The Chicana/Chicano Studies Foundation brief presented evidence, previously unknown to Abu-Jamal and his supporters, for a



Philadelphia, April 1999. —April Schmidt

Waynesburg, Pennsylvania where he is held, joining numerous other prominent figures who have made similar visits.

The movement to free Mumia grows larger and louder with the call for his freedom figuring prominently at both the Republican and Democratic convention protests. Also, demonstrations occur regularly across the world echoing a demand for justice. In May, Mumia supporters filled New York City's Madison Square Garden to hear demands for a new trial from speakers which included a former mayor of the city.

However, the racist and right-wing drum beat for stopping Mumia's heart by a poisonous drug injection grows louder. The Philadelphia cops and dead officer's widow appear frequently in the corporate media demanding the sentence be carried out. The governor of Pennsylvania sits with poised pen waiting to sign the execution order.

The populace is being prepared for its eventuality through pro-cop propaganda articles such as a July 2000 *Time* magazine essay and editorials and columns "proving" Mumia is guilty. These appear with disturbing frequency along with a profusion of anti-Mumia web sites dotting the Internet financed by the police and right-wing millionaires.

It couldn't be any clearer. The deck is stacked against Mumia as it has been from

Judaism and Anarchism Conference in Venice

Anarchists from all over Europe and the Americas, as well as several from Is-

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Judaism and Anarchism Conference in Venice

Anarchists from all over Europe and the Americas, as well as several from Israel, attended an International Study Conference on Anarchism and Judaism, held in Venice, Italy, May 5-7.

It was organized by Milan's Centro Studi Libertari Archivio G. Pinelli and the Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme in Lausanne, in collaboration with the Venice City Council and held on the University of Venice campus.

There were no registration fees or forms to fill out, so figures are not exact, but there were about 200-250 people in attendance at its peak.

The daily sessions, held in the university auditorium in Campo Santa

Margherita, were conducted in Italian, French, and English (with simultaneous translations) and included papers on Utopianism, Messianism and Secular Messianism; Social Utopia and Jewish Spirituality; The Radical Jews of Poland; Judaism and Anarchism in Mitteleuropa; The Franz Kafka Case; Anarchism, Zionism and Anti-Semitism in the Netherlands; The Kibbutz Movement and Anarchism; and Jewish Anarchism and Communitarianism in the United States.

Sunday's session ended with a discussion of "Double Identity," with several anarchists talking about their Jewish upbringing and their activities within the

Continued on page 23

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Hmm, "unhelpful," eh? Only if you're knotting the rope for the lynching. The Chicana/Chicano Studies Foundation brief presented evidence, previously unknown to Abu-Jamal and his supporters of a conspiracy between Mumia's court-appointed defense attorney Anthony Jackson, presiding Judge Albert Sabo, and Philadelphia prosecutor Joseph McGill. The brief detailed the transcript of discussions between the three in the judge's chambers concerning how to get a conviction that would be protected from appeal. Mumia's attorney also discussed the accused's defense strategy with the prosecutor and the judge, in flagrant violation of what passes for the rules of the justice system when the poor or minorities are involved. This breach of conduct alone should be enough to overturn Mumia's conviction. Like the

three monkeys, no wonder Yohn doesn't want to see it.

The brief from the British lawmakers is not unusual. Mumia's case is well known throughout the world. There are numerous international organizations, including trade union federations, specifically devoted to the efforts to free him and many others.

Raymond Forni, President of the French National Assembly recently visited Mumia at SCI Greene in

widow appear frequently in the corporate media demanding the sentence be carried out. The governor of Pennsylvania sits with poised pen waiting to sign the execution order.

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Fifth Estate

The Fifth Estate is a cooperative, nonprofit project, publishing since 1965. The people who produce it are a group of friends who do so neither to secure wages nor as an investment in the newspaper industry, but to encourage resistance to an unjust and destructive society.



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A Fifth Estate comrade in front of the conference banner, and anti-God, anti-state graffiti.
—photo/Ben Gidley

Detroit Anti-OAS Demo

Continued from page 1

capital.

The intention of the protests was to bring these issues to public attention, and to reveal how plans for our Southern neighbors would also have an impact on the Detroit/Windsor area through job loss, increased privatization, and pollution. However, just as the corporate media focuses most of its attention on the form of street demonstrations rather than their message, so it was in the twin cities on the straits between the United States and Canada.

Initially, it looked as if our message against elite, undemocratic control of the economic future of this region would be lost in the hysteria created by the media, cops, and politicians about the impending actions. Since it was announced early on that Canadian Customs would bar foreign activists, the Detroit protests were conceived as support actions for larger demonstrations expected in Windsor where the OAS meetings were convening.

Hence, we were unprepared for the insanely erroneous information spread by the media about the city "bracing" for an improbable number of demonstrators ready to perpetrate violence and destruction. Most of the reports were traced back to the FBI and private consulting firms which now specialize in tracking demonstrators and whipping up hysteria.

"A hundred thousand terrorists are coming to Detroit," shrieked Detroit City Councilwoman, Kay Everett. "They burned Seattle and it's still burning," she continued during a Council debate on whether to pass emergency ordinances which would ban not only wearing masks or hoods, but also possessing such heinous substances as vegetable oil, water bottles and gas masks. The mask ordinance passed as did one against carrying flammable liquids anywhere in the city.

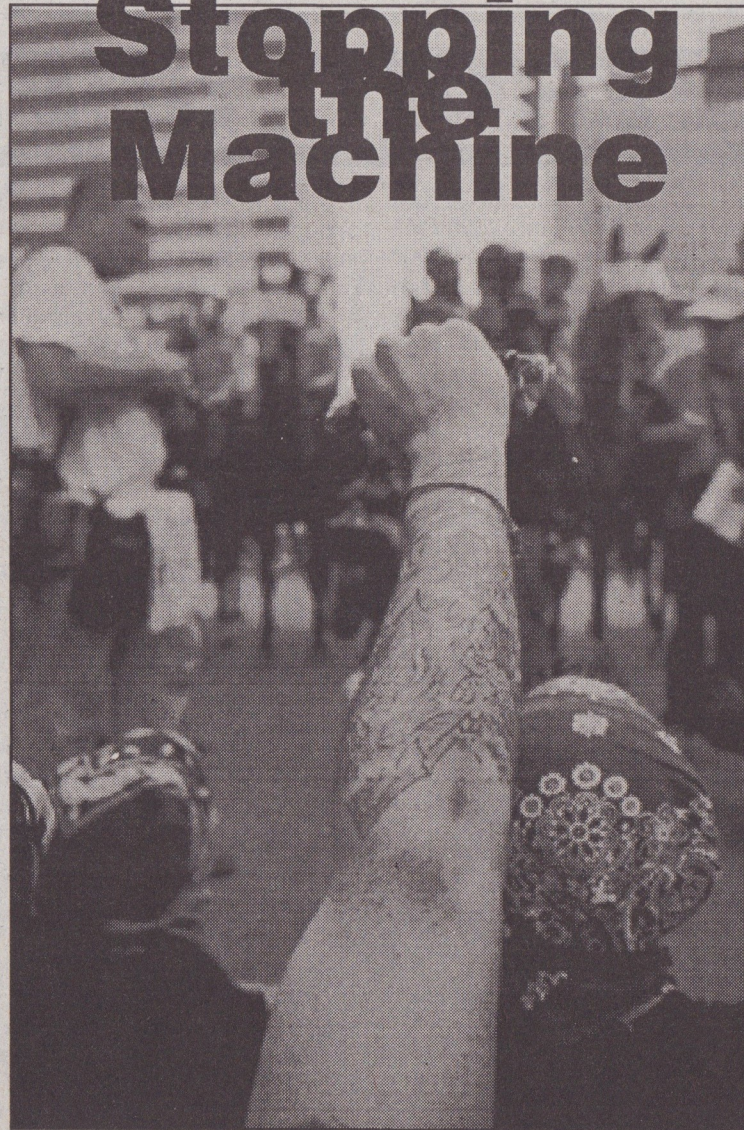
Filled With Crazy Reports

The papers and TV news were filled with crazy reports that distorted the previous demos in Seattle and Washington as examples of violence on the part of protesters, rather than the reality of a

tered in Detroit, announced it was closing down its entire court system for two days after our scheduled demonstration. Temporary arrest processing centers were established, city jail wards were emptied to accommodate mass arrestees, and downtown employees were told to wear "casual clothes" when working, again, on the days following our march lest they be singled out by "violent demonstrators."

Office workers were also told to be prepared for building lock-downs and bring extra food and a radio to work in

Stopping the Machine



Blocking the streets at the Republican convention. photo/Greg Fuchs

tal Detroit Police Gang Squad. They were ready for the riders, and as soon as their wheels touched the street, the plainclothes bullies threw them to the ground and piled their bikes into a waiting police pickup truck.

The Gang Squad is a hyped-up unit filled with psychopaths, thugs and sadists typical of those in other big cities which leave a swath of humiliated, injured or dead citizens who have the misfortune to cross their paths. In Detroit, they wear their own gang jackets bearing skull and cross bones, and are generally

"troublemakers."

The sinister intent mentioned above may be described as the Detroit Model for cities about to experience large demonstrations. The same type of official lies, dutifully reported by the media, occurred prior to the Philadelphia and Los Angeles Republican conventions, and in similar, smaller demonstrations this summer such as the anti-oil action in Edmonton, Alberta, and the anti-biotech conference in Minneapolis.

The Detroit Model

The Detroit Model contains these elements:

- Demonize the demonstrators. This diverts attention from the message of the protest (one of the major goals). Promote any false or wild disinformation necessary to frighten the passive populace, which depends on the corporate media for its news, about the upcoming event.

- Characterize the protesters as being such a menace that extravagant expenditures on cop equipment are approved by a frightened city government. Detroit spent at least \$3 million on a variety of anti-riot gear while nine schools are closing due to a lack of funding and children often have to bring their own toilet paper to school.

- Once demonstrators have been successfully branded as terrorists, cop violence, no matter how vicious, is legitimated. The police are, then, inoculated from criticism even though they perpetrate wholesale assaults on unarmed, nonresisting demonstrators with clubs, chemical agents, fists, boots, and rubber bullets.

The corporate media perpetrates such cognitive dissonance that even though television footage will show cops rampaging against defenseless protesters, the narrative will praise the police for their "restraint," and label the demonstrators as "violent."

- Once the cops, media and politicians have set the stage for the city being transformed into a war zone (their doing), they accomplish another goal: scaring off participants.

"Listening to the belligerent and threatening statements from Detroit's police chief and realizing we were going to be

cilwoman, Kay Everett. "They burned Seattle and it's still burning," she continued during a Council debate on whether to pass emergency ordinances which would ban not only wearing masks or hoods, but also possessing such heinous substances as vegetable oil, water bottles and gas masks. The mask ordinance passed as did one against carrying flammable liquids anywhere in the city.

Filled With Crazy Reports

The papers and TV news were filled with crazy reports that distorted the previous demos in Seattle and Washington as examples of violence on the part of protesters rather than the cops. One news station aired a report stating it had learned the Detroit City-County Building was "target number one for terrorists." All police leaves were canceled. The cops were ordered to wear long sleeves despite the summer heat to prevent demonstrators from "pouring chemicals on their arms."

The Wayne County administration, cen-

tered in Detroit, announced it was closing down its entire court system for two days after our scheduled demonstration. Temporary arrest processing centers were established, city jail wards were emptied to accommodate mass arrestees, and downtown employees were told to wear "casual clothes" when working, again, on the days following our march lest they be singled out by "violent demonstrators."

Office workers were also told to be prepared for building lock-downs and bring extra food and a radio to work in case we were able to close down entire skyscrapers. Detroit police chief Benny Napoleon personally warned demonstrators, "You got the wrong town and the wrong police chief to mess with."

In what appeared as a preview of things to come, two days before the march, 21 persons were arrested during a small Critical Mass bike ride by the notoriously bru-

tal Detroit Police Gang Squad. They were ready for the riders, and as soon as their wheels touched the street, the plainclothes bullies threw them to the ground and piled their bikes into a waiting police pickup truck.

The Gang Squad is a hyped-up unit filled with psychopaths, thugs and sadists typical of those in other big cities which leave a swath of humiliated, injured or dead citizens who have the misfortune to cross their paths. In Detroit, they wear their own gang jackets bearing skull and cross bones emblems, and are generally out looking for heads to crack. Several of the arrested cyclists were charged with wearing a mask. Their trials are pending.

All of this was a bit dismaying to the forty of us at the organizing meetings planning a march of a few hundred people featuring several large puppets. It would have been comical if the intent wasn't so sinister.

Whoever was running the show—the cops, the politicians, the FBI, corporate security consultants, or most probably a combination—almost succeeded in obliterating the message of the protest beneath the fears of a city expecting wild, violent demonstrations. However, for whatever reason, the frothing of the officials subsided a bit, and several of the area newspapers and TV outlets began quoting coalition spokespeople in Detroit and even giving out our web address.

Similar hysteria was occurring in Windsor as well but in a considerably toned down manner perhaps since mainstream organizations such as the Canadian Auto Workers union were directly involved in organizing on that side of the river. The local paper ran several decent stories on groups involved in the protests alongside full page photos of Windsor police robocoped out and ready for

chemical agents, fists, boots, and rubber bullets.

The corporate media perpetrates such cognitive dissonance that even though television footage will show cops rampaging against defenseless protesters, the narrative will praise the police for their "restraint," and label the demonstrators as "violent."

• Once the cops, media and politicians have set the stage for the city being transformed into a war zone (their doing), they accomplish another goal: scaring off participants.

"Listening to the belligerent and threatening statements from Detroit's police chief and realizing we were going to be considered an invading horde even though ninety-five percent of us live here, several people I spoke to decided to skip the protest knowing we probably were going to be outnumbered four to one by robocops drooling over the opportunity to kick our asses. Some people who did attend and wanted to bring their children thought it wiser to leave them at home.

Murderous Corrupt Nature

Other threats direct and subtle are invoked to reduce participation. In Philadelphia, for instance, the Department of Human Services warned that people committing civil disobedience might have their children taken away. In Los Angeles, the county coroner's office asked its employees to defer vacations until after the August Democratic convention. Given the murderous, corrupt nature of the LA cops, this fact alone could understandably turn some people away. Also, a 3,000 member National Guard Weapons of Mass Destruction unit was mobilized for action.

As it turned out, all was peaceful in Detroit during our rally and march. Several hundred bored cops lurked lazily on the sidelines while we had a spirited but contained parade featuring a couple of

Continued on page 4

35 Arrests at Windsor OAS Protests

It probably would have been more appropriate to have told our front page story from the perspective of our comrades across the river in Windsor, Ontario since it was there that the parallels to the Seattle street action were more pronounced. However, artificial boundaries enforced by men with guns prohibited most of us from participating or reporting from that side of the border.

Canadian activists and unionists turned out 4,000 demonstrators on June 4, and were met by Seattle-style robocops winging pepper spray at anything that moved. Windsor police arrested 41 persons on mostly trumped up charges and basically locked down

the entire city centre to keep the OAS meeting up and running.

The bureaucrats' gathering was surrounded by chain link fences and cement barricades patrolled by 5,000 cops and Mounties. Thirty-five of the arrests came when a crowd tried to stop a bus loaded with international delegates with their bodies and spikes under the tires.

Canadian border guards refused entry to 560 people during the 5-day protests while on average a thousand are turned back a month. The customs agency claimed they confiscated 200 items including gas masks, tear gas, pepper spray, bleach and spray paint from those they refused admittance.

Detroit Anti-OAS Demo

Continued from page 3

giant puppets moving up Woodward Ave. from Hart Plaza and then back again after hearing a few speeches.

The cops controlled the scene completely making our chants of "Whose Streets? Our Streets!" seem pretty hollow; it was like whistling in the dark as helicopters buzzed overhead, and a large force of riot cops in full gear and empty buses aching to be filled with demonstrators waited ominously a block away, but never were called into action.

Jason, from Detroit's Active Transformation group, following a stump speech by a local Green Party candidate told the crowd, "We aren't voting for any politicians; we want a change in how things are done. We are not selling bread; we are giving away yeast! We are agitating for a new world."

Ron Scott, from the Detroit Coalition Against Police Brutality, said "Somebody said that the City-County Building was the potential target of terrorism, but let me tell you what it really is, it is the home of terrorism."

The day's only arrests were made when twenty members of the police gang squad jumped three people heading to the rally carrying baseball batting helmets. When it turned out one of the trio had an outstanding traffic warrant, he was shoved in a cop car, blindfolded (isn't there a Geneva Convention prohibition against this?), and threatened with a beating if he lifted his head from his chest.

He was taken to a huge warehouse outfitted for processing mass arrests and dutifully led from booking station to station, but alas for the cops, he was the only one to fall into their clutches that day.

In general, we came out of the actions feeling pretty good. As in other cities, we were misrepresented by a media whose mission is to keep people in the dark about what is really happening and what the important issues are. But we made the most of what we had, brought to public attention another corporate swindle, and

DETROIT SEEN

Welcome to the Fall/Winter 2000 *Fifth Estate* which follows our Spring 2000 edition. This issue marks the 35th anniversary of this paper, now the longest running English language anarchist publication in U.S. history.

It's quite a legacy, one we continue to build on, but only with your ongoing support. Thanks to everyone who subscribed, renewed, sent donations (especially our Sustainers), bought books, came by, wrote articles and letters, sent graphics and photos, and a hundred other things that makes issue happen.

Apologies are in order to a number of people who submitted articles and graphics which didn't appear in this issue, but never received a response from us. We are backed way up on our correspondence and will get letters out shortly to everyone who is expecting one. Thanks for your patience and support.

Our center four pages this issue are a special about the Democratic and Republican party conventions produced by our friends at Active Transformation.

For years we've placed mailing labels on our subscriber issues and bookstore orders ourselves, but as of last issue, we turned the process over to the people who print our paper. Although, in the past, the mailing sessions turned into a combination social gathering, political discussion, and celebration, increasingly complex Post Office regulations and form preparation have convinced us that the task is best left to professionals.

It actually turns out to be a cost effective decision since we never could figure out the labyrinth of Post Office regulations and wound up mailing at the highest rates. The money we are spending on the mailing service is made up by what we save on lower postal costs.

One drawback was that as in any transition, a lot of addresses got screwed up. The mailing house program only "saw"

prisoner subscribers who had their inmate number dropped, and the kind people who run American dungeons refuse to take any mail without them. They were all returned.

Also, the program only read three lines which meant numerous people with four line addresses including almost all of the foreign subscribers were returned.

So, if you missed last issue (the one with the Seattle cover), drop us a line and we'll send you a replacement.

During the June anti-OAS demos the *Fifth Estate* printed a joint special edition (see below) with Active Transformation, many of whose activists were at the core of the organizing for the event.

It was a two-sided broadsheet that described the Free Trade Area of the Americas scam, a "Welcome to Detroit," article describing for visitors what to expect in the Motor City, and a blast against capitalism. A few copies remain, and are avail-



SpecColl.lib/LabExh.html.

There has been an air of seeming political ecumenicism present in the Detroit resistance movement recently, particularly since Seattle.

Uncharacteristically, members of usually squabbling leftoid sectlets peacefully plan demonstrations together. Even local anarchists sit quietly in meetings with them, sort of in a state of denial about the authoritarian nature of marxist groups, or, perhaps, given the collapse of police state socialism, hoping they have changed their spots.

In fact, most of the Left seems little more than liberal reformers, barely mentioning their discredited ideology, and only timidly bringing out their boring papers, a thankful change from their previous Jehovah Witness-like persistence.

But alas, little has changed. The left's promotion of the remaining rotten communist dictatorships seems no different from the days when they touted Stalin, Mao, or even Albania's Enver Hoxha as the embodiment of the proletarians' longing for a socialist society. In the case of Cuba, perhaps it's because the little island is the perennial target of the U.S. government and right-wing whacko exiles, and it's easier for them to ignore the Castro regime's antidemocratic and repressive features.

So, local leftists were positively delighted when a visiting delegation of Cuban trade union bureaucrats stopped in Detroit, August 13 and 14, to address a meeting on Cuban/American relations. Do they really not know that labor organizations in socialist countries function solely to police the workers and to assure state production norms are met and that the Cuban variety are no different?

Are they really oblivious to the fact that any attempt to form independent unions in Cuba is quickly squelched as "counter-revolutionary," and those with the temerity to do so are dispatched to prison? Can they really ignore that no strikes are permitted—a boss' dream?

The leftists constituting the US/Cuba Labor Exchange in Detroit, who invited the officials from the Cuban Workers Fed-

standing traffic warrant, he was shoved in a cop car, blindfolded (isn't there a Geneva Convention prohibition against this?), and threatened with a beating if he lifted his head from his chest.

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In general, we came out of the actions feeling pretty good. As in other cities, we were misrepresented by a media whose mission is to keep people in the dark about what is really happening and what the important issues are. But we made the most of what we had, brought to public attention another corporate swindle, and took another step in building a movement in Detroit which has no illusions about capitalism or the state.

NEXT ACTION: April 20-22, 2001, Quebec City, Summit of the Americas. FTAA plans to be finalized.



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One drawback was that as in any transition, a lot of addresses got screwed up. The mailing house program only "saw" two groups on the name line, so if you are James A. Jones, your label said only, James A. This was particularly unfortunate for

The Detroit-Windsor Ambassador bridge is a major link on the NAFTA/FTAA highway over the backs of workers. —graphic/Aren Burthwick



able for 55¢ postage or with book orders.

Ann Arbor's Labadie Collection is featuring a new exhibit entitled "A Legacy for the Masses: Jo Labadie (1850-1933) and His Gift to Michigan."

It will be on display through November 22 as the archive, a noted repository of numerous anarchist papers, mounts its first exhibit on the life of this influential labor activist and Detroit anarchist. Included in the exhibit will be portions of Labadie's original 1912 gift of his papers to the library.

An October 18 symposium was held in conjunction with the exhibit exploring Labadie's life and contributions to the early labor and radical movements. Speakers included Carlotta Anderson, author of *All-American Anarchist: Joseph A. Labadie and the Labor Movement* (available through our book page; see review, Summer 1999 FE); Paul Avrich, the American scholar of anarchist history, and Philip P. Mason, archivist, labor historian, editor and author of numerous books on Michigan history.

The exhibit is open to the public. For information about the exhibit, contact the Labadie Collection at 734-764-9377. Additional information about the archive and the events are available at <http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/>

ban trade union bureaucrats stopped in Detroit, August 13 and 14, to address a meeting on Cuban/American relations. Do they really not know that labor organizations in socialist countries function solely to police the workers and to assure state production norms are met and that the Cuban variety are no different?

Are they really oblivious to the fact that any attempt to form independent unions in Cuba is quickly squelched as "counter-revolutionary," and those with the temerity to do so are dispatched to prison? Can they really ignore that no strikes are permitted—a boss' dream?

The leftists constituting the US/Cuba Labor Exchange in Detroit, who invited the officials from the Cuban Workers Federation (CTC), give workers in this country an insight into the plans they have for labor in this country.

All big cities have their share of psycho, killer cops, but Detroit has recently gained the unfortunate title of Killer Kop Kapital of the U.S. where officers kill more citizens than in any other town.

One cop, Ernest Brown shot nine people in six years, three fatally, all with multiple shots, and all ruled "justifiable." Another, David Krupinski shot a deaf man with a rake twice. Because of citizen pressure the latter was charged with manslaughter and Brown's shootings have been reopened.

Attention Prisoners

Even if you requested a free subscription, if this is the first issue of the paper you've received, you will not automatically be put on our subscribers' list unless you fill out the blank further back in this issue and indicate you are a prisoner.

Also, due to a departure of a *Fifth Estate* staff member, we can no longer fill book requests for imprisoned subscribers. Another source is Books To Prisoners, 92 Pike St., Box A, Seattle WA 98101.

This is dedicated to all those who are suffering.

In the Summer of 1998, following a fed-up trip to city life, I resolved to live without electricity or running water in a trailer in Montana in complete, social isolation. How long it would last I hadn't considered. Turns out it was a year before the hermitism (literally not speaking to a soul for six months, broken only by a passerby requesting directions, and thereafter resumed), and tedium took its toll.

It was time to re-enter "civilization." To accomplish this in my rural area requires a vehicle. Herein lay the glitch. Without a consistent dose of car riding (I don't drive), I had developed vehicle phobia. Also, noise and social phobia. I checked myself into a mental hospital. From that time on I've never looked at the mental health system and technological society the same.

Noises and Social immersion

I hadn't bargained for the noises and social immersion I'd have to endure in the hospital: intercoms, phones, TVs, faxes, juice and ice coolers, radios, vacuums, carpet cleaners, meal tray wheels, and, the culture shock of people around me everywhere. I freaked.

It is a patient's right to leave the hospital within 48 hours of appealing—but, with a catch. I requested to leave, explaining my quandary was more with anxiety than suicidal depression. (Because of inundated patient-to-hospital capacity, they release you if you're not grimly suicidal.) All the modern din was merely exacerbating my condition, I added. The catch about the request was that the decision lies in the doctor's discretion. And, he didn't buy what I was saying. "You got the ball rolling by admitting yourself; now we take over."

This imprisonment and loss of control was sulfurous at the moment, but I am now glad I stayed for the next two and a half weeks. I was exposed to the mental health profession at its purest: a mental asylum. Generally speaking, while prisons are the holding tanks of those

who display their deviance outward, mental hospitals are the tanks for those who pilot it inward. Industrial society abides neither.

The lowdown on anxiety disorder is that one's fight-or-flight mechanism is thrown out of whack. It fires off mostly during what the profession calls "irrational portents." There are subtypes of anxiety disorder: panic disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, agoraphobia (fear of public places), social phobias, obsessive-compulsive disorder, and post-traumatic stress disorder. I was diagnosed with them all.

In psychology books, there's almost always the "tiger analogy." In the "caveman days," upon an assault from a tiger (or lion, or whatever), anxiety's symptoms served us well. Muscle contraction for quick action. Increased heart rate and blood pressure convey more nutrients and oxygen to muscles. Increased urination to flush toxins out. Decreased digestive and sexual appetites to prevent distraction. Sweating to cool the body. Decreased ability to focus on small details. Dilated pupils apparently to improve night vision. Cortisol is the hormone most associated with stress and what is usually monitored in experiments testing for it.

Tigers ad infinitum

Today, there are "Tigers," ad infinitum, only they are machines and variations thereof. Yet, this is something the medical practice persists, for the most part, in wantonly and inauspiciously denigrating or ignoring.

The number one psychological plight today is not depression, but anxiety (for reasons I'll specify later, I dispute calling various mental pitfalls "disorders," but for convenience, I'll refer to them as such). Eighteen million Americans suffer from it. That's one-fifth of the population that has been *officially* diagnosed. Other accounts say one-quarter. Anxiety-allied predicaments (irritable bowel, chronic fatigue, heartburn, etc.) are the number one reason for physician visits—85% of them. Anxiety has been implicated in most or all psycho-

pathologies: schizophrenia, crime, alcoholism, etc. (*New Perspectives in Abnormal Psychology*). Thirty-five percent of emergency entrances for people who think they're having heart attacks are actually for panic attacks. Anti-anxiety drugs are among the top three medications prescribed.

With anxiety is at epidemic levels, and the genome project completed, people are being brainwashed (directly or indirectly) that the problem is pretty much all in their genes. First, it was Freud *et al* with their narratives of childhood familial tribulations and repressive, but not necessarily modern, society. Now, it's the gospel according to genes. And, while genes may be the scaffolding for experiences and final demeanor, the black plague ain't no fucking gene problem.

"Goals for the Day"

In the hospital, we had a syllabus for each day, but all days were pretty much the same. We each had to profess our "goals for the day" (e.g., smile a lot); meds were distributed (the ubiquitous Prozac, plus others for my heartburn and insomnia); vital signs were taken, classes on medications, healthy eating/living; there were crafts; a modicum of exercise (comically, always chair exercise videos so as not to exclude the elderly and grossly out-of-shape); convening with one's shrink; group therapy; a walk for those with off-ground concessions; elective journal writing; board games; visiting hours; and another group assembly; roughly in that order. There was also a bedtime Catholic prayer over the intercom and optional Sunday mass since it was a religiously affiliated center.

The days of zombies shuffling about in hospital gowns asphyxiated by tranquilizers are gone, at least in hospitals; full-fledged asylums likely diverge from this. I was not despotically administered sedatives to speak of. The trend now is to deluge patients with reality. Various shrinks espouse this to assorted degrees. My shrink swore on it like the Holy Grail, to my utter petulance. Indeed, prior to my hospital ingress, I'd been "self-medicating" with copious amounts of sleeping pills (a relative's prescription), so I was experiencing heinous withdrawal.

There were about ten rooms in all, two beds each, with the only view afforded me and my fellow neoteric life incapacitates were a rooftop and highway. Video surveillance was (to my knowledge) reserved for three rooms for high-risk patients (which I was not). Another unit occupied the same floor, locked off, for those at extreme hazard, usually having just attempted suicide; or recalcitrant, psychotic, and such. Each of their rooms were video surveyed, and gowns, it seemed, were compulsory. Shrieks and altercations were often heard from that unit.

I, by contrast, was tagged high functioning by the

**ANXIETY DISORDERS,
MENTAL HOSPITALS, &
OTHER MODERN EVILS:**

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I, by contrast, was tagged high functioning by the staff. A fellow patient once remarked that I was not one of them (that is, the patients). I replied that I only hid it

Continued on next page

ANXIETY DISORDERS, MENTAL HOSPITALS, & OTHER MODERN EVILS:

An Inside Look

by Mosa Charlo



well. There was not, confoundingly, a distrust of the professionals by the patients, but a patient also informed me that the cleaning lady was the only one there you could trust. Indeed, she was a very humble and sincere lady.

One can't but feel like a number or a guinea pig or whatever when a nurse makes his or her rounds every ten or fifteen minutes, twenty-four hours a day to check if you're still present. Notes were recorded about you several times a day, which I found both amusing and alienating.

Incidentally, rubbernecks in the 1800s and earlier used to pay to gawk at inmates in asylums, like animals in zoos. Now, hospital staffs are paid to do the same.

There was no exercise equipment really, just flimsy crap, one of the things I disrelished most since I'm accustomed to being very active, and it helps my nerves. Other patients and I took to power walking the parameter of the Bantum Unit, like mice on a running wheel, to the vexation of the staff.

The hospital is in Missoula, Montana, close to Ted Kaczynski's former residence in Lincoln and his then sporadic haunt (Missoula, not the hospital), and the Flathead Indian Reservation where I live. While I was on the ward, there was disproportionate number of Native Americans: six (including myself) to the 143 or so whites. This surmounts the ratio of natives even on my reservation, where some 3/4 are white. (That's correct; an Indian reservation full of white people.)

Plenitude of Horrifying Stories

Native Americans have the highest rate of mental and physical disease, alcohol and drug use, and suicide of any ethnic group. A big culprit is poverty. Socioeconomic status is the single most significant variable affecting mental illness in America.

Not that I exhort economic development as rectification.

I was exposed to a plenitude of horrifying stories from patients which, out of regard for them and for brevity, I will not divulge. I will say this: When one's *childhood* involves suicide attempts and one's *children* are doing so, there is something gravely amiss with the world.

We were asked to sign something every day affirming that we were no longer contemplating suicide, which was a crock because I'm sure just about everyone there had the idea; many patients confided this to me. It was not mandatory, but to be released one had to do it. Half the

Anxiety Disorders, Mental Hospitals, & Other Modern Evils

Continued from page 5



—Richard Mock

recall I was gazing at the highway most of that time. I believe I rattled off the forms of technology we need to abrogate, and brought up the subject of the Unabomber's manifesto and desperation. The next thing Dilrod said was something like, "How's your Prozac coming along?"

Finally, during one session, I told him categorically I didn't like him and desired another psychiatrist. That won't be done, he replied. It's my right, I retorted. The likely implication was that it's not efficient to change doctors in the middle of therapy, but he was also on a blatant ego trip. Either way it was miscreancy. Next meeting he got the silent treatment, which he stated he'd not received in eight years.

During that day's group therapy there was a minor patient insurrection, courtesy of yours truly. I told them about Dilrod. "Asshole." "Doctor's God Syndrome." Patients rhapsodized about straight away grabbing the phone book and getting a lawyer. One related how Dilrod had made sexually inappropriate remarks to her. Counselors tried to keep order. Even in the face of suicidal ruminations, my inner rebel had roared through.

Soon after, Dilrod dictated that the most obnoxious patient, one who I had before the uprising supplicated the staff not to room with me, be my roommate in my, up until then, single room.

Patients who try to flee are often harnessed down, drug-fed and video monitored, among other measures, but I was determined to attempt it anyway, or kind of. During my off-ground time, I spent hours mulling how to return to the res. Finally, I again requested release. To my shock, Dilrod, over the phone, assented. I suppose I'd been there long enough and also was becoming a royal pain in the backside.

Brick Walls

The last time I spoke to Dilrod, a week or so following my release, and while I was seeing another, more conciliatory therapist at the same center, he told me something dumbfounding: "The objective now is to get you to drive yourself."

What?! I am not hearing that, man. Have never and will never partake directly in something that is making my life utterly wretched and largely caused my anxiety fucking nightmare in the first place. The therapist concurred with him, so that was the end of her and me.

If you've ever sought psychiatric help, you know how estranging it is to confess your primitivist creed in a room replete with computers, phones, faxes, artificial lighting, and cars visible through the window. Or, if you're an atheist or non-Catholic, religiosity can prove an obstacle as when, during my closest brush with suicide, I was handed a Bible by a counselor. I did try getting help again months after the ward, but with all the technol-

I cannot stress enough how

culprit is poverty. Socioeconomic status is the single most significant variable affecting mental illness in America.

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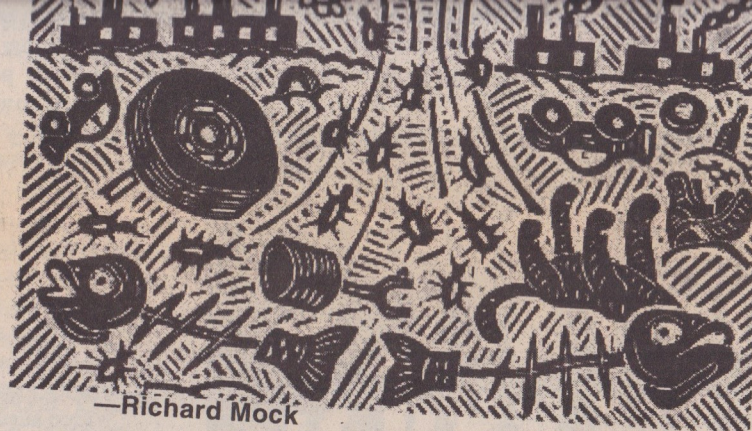
We were asked to sign something every day affirming that we were no longer contemplating suicide, which was a crock because I'm sure just about everyone there had the idea; many patients confided this to me. It was not mandatory, but to be released one had to do it. Half the people were there, according to my psychiatrist, by court order, and no one felt they were at Disneyland, so you did it.

I cannot stress enough how agonizing all the cacophony was for me. When I was alone in the trailer, which was in the back woods yet close to a residential road, I got in the habit of wearing the embarrassing getup of not only ear plugs but also construction worker-type headphones during all times save for my outdoor exercise when I donned the plugs only. So, perhaps the reader can envision my arrival at the hospital: without my noise-muffling accouterments, it sounded like a hard rock concert.

Later, a relative delivered plugs, but still, that damn intercom I just loathed. I pleaded for them to turn the one in my room off—it was beside my bed—but they said they couldn't, didn't even know how. I tidied my room spick-and-span and put the garbage sacks outside my door to avert the cleaning lady, nice as she was, from vacuuming in the room. I posted a sign on my door: "Please tread lightly. Trying to sleep [even if I wasn't]. Do not wake." But some knocked anyway, startling me, so I eventually kept the door open. I snuck meals into my room to avoid the dining area noises. I beseeched family members not to call to curtail phone rings and kept my curtains drawn.

Dilrod

"Dilrod" is a variation of my assigned shrink's real name, a pet-name I acquired from another patient of his. A corpulent, egg-shaped man ever without suspenders, bearing a rigid expression, I came to detest my rendezvous with him almost as much as the noises.



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On the whole, he was, just like any other shrink, well-meaning. However, in typical mental health system fashion, he gave every indication of disregarding civilization's role in mental illness.

I elucidated my anti-tech notions to him, although I don't remember precisely how I delineated them. I do

following my release, and while I was seeing another, more conciliatory therapist at the same center, he told me something dumbfounding: "The objective now is to get you to drive yourself."

What?! I am not hearing that, man. Have never and will never partake directly in something that is making my life utterly wretched and largely caused my anxiety fucking nightmare in the first place. The therapist concurred with him; so that was the end of her and me.

If you've ever sought psychiatric help, you know how estranging it is to confess your primitivist creed in a room replete with computers, phones, faxes, artificial lighting, and cars visible through the window. Or, if you're an atheist or non-Catholic, religiosity can prove an obstacle as when, during my closest brush with suicide, I was handed a Bible by a counselor. I did try getting help again months after the ward, but with all the technology in the room, coupled with my reticence, I canceled appointment after appointment until the clinic forbade me to make any more.

Exclusive of one warmhearted counselor at the ward, all shrink ordeals for me—about six since age eleven—have been like talking to brick walls. The most beneficial aspect of that hospital escapade was being in the retinue of others who feel as shitty about life as I do.

Interesting to note, however, is that physicians have the highest suicide rate of any occupation. Yet the nonerudition about its causes rages on.

It's All in Your Head

There are centers in this country specifically for anxiety. One such place is called the Midwest Center for Stress & Anxiety, Inc., which I became aware of through a video. It was from the early 1990s, so it is possible the clinic is now defunct, but probably not.

The gist of their seminars, which they trumpet are so popular people must often be turned away, is the whole contemporary strategy for treating anxiety disorder. The axioms are as such: "You choose how to react to stressful events. The solution is not to avoid, but to face your fears. Do whatever is the limitation, whether fear of flying, driving, elevators, whatever. The problem is not with what surrounds you, but with what is inside your head."

These platitudes are redolent of conversations I had with Dilrod. I would tell him that it was mostly his personality that deterred me from interacting with him. He retorted it was the other way around. Similarly, the mental health system drills: "It's not really modern life; it's what's in your mind, your genes, your alcoholic father. . . ." "O.K., somewhat. But it's mostly modern

noise in modern technological society

Like Mosa Charlo in the article below, Dirk Leach reacted with revulsion to the constant noise around him when he worked on a Mercedes-Benz assembly line in Germany in the early 1980s to finance his philosophy studies at a Berlin university. His reading of existentialism and his direct experience in the factory, led to his examination of the concepts of nihilism and to a confrontation with modern life which he chronicled in his 1986 book, *Technik*, published by Gris Banal, Éditeur. Excerpts from it appear below.

"I don't write much in the off-hours now. Whenever I did, a motor somewhere always seemed too loud. Work at the factory had become a duller, more massive, and less eventful experience. It seemed to consist of nothing so much as getting especially close to the noise one heard everywhere all the time. After work, the work of others dominated the air. An urgent drone was the basis of the sound, and internal combustion engines or sputtering power tools usually clattered in the foreground. When I tried to write, more and more often I became distracted and wondered at the noise. It was fast and regular. It went on. It approximated constancy with a blattering push punctuated by the shortest of pauses. I knew that a long time at the factory would eventually destroy my ability to write altogether. . . .

"I hear a voice in the sky. It is a tunnel of sound that, as it rockets into the distance, begins to rumble like a roaring blaze, like a receding wave of combustion.

"The voice in the sky, of contained destruction progressing into the distance—my thinking listens to that, but also feels my walking. My thinking speaks over the sound of the passing automobiles and it walks down the edge of the highway listening to the rocketing tunnel of traveling combustion. My thinking takes all that into itself."



Dirk Leach, author of *Technik*, strikes a pose.

Anxiety Disorders, Mental Hospitals

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life." "No, it's you." "No, it's modern life."

Look, I've spent the past year being driven in a car (for college) "facing the fear." And, with only Prozac and that for only half the time. But it never lets up. I recently experimented with various dosages of Valium to ascertain how much it would take to have an average person's car experience. One 5 mg pill is sufficient for most people and their sundry anxieties. I've tried 17 of these at once, an amount that knocks out most people, and felt only vaguely nuanced. No need to try more. To have a tolerable

"anti-domestication difficulties," in which case we all have some form or other. "Disorder" signifies the abnormality of a minority, but today it is a majority, and how can a majority have an abnormality? Ah, but we know the government has its own mission, making a tighter than asshole mold for everyone.

Moreover, there was the sentiment of a fellow patient, who told me I am more "sane" than most "sane" people—"9 to 5ers"—who rebuff the state the world is in. Comrades, I'm proud to say I'm not suffering from ignorance disorder.

Deinstitutionalization Policy

Depression is said to have evolutionary roots (ditto every behavior, of course). According to a recent thesis by University of Michigan psychiatrist Randolph H. Nesse, "Some features of our simian ancestors survive. . . ." (See *U.S. News and World Report*, Feb. 14, 2000.)

Monkeys with low status have been observed with depression-like symptoms like withdrawal, and Nesse and other researchers have postulated that these behaviors are adaptive since they help prohibit harassment and aggression of them by higher ranking monkeys. (Some consequences of stress from such bullying include elevation of the stress hormone Cortisol which kills brain cells and low estrogen in females which causes atherosclerosis and bone loss.) But "monkey groups are very fluid with

this enough. The is not the mental health system, and I am not calling for its reform. I am calling for total upheaval and quashing of industrial life.

What Now?

I was on Prozac for half a year and have been off it the same amount of time. In addition to my anti-tech ethics, I didn't renew my prescription because the advantages were not dramatic enough. Save for the occasional minor sedatives, Xanax, Valium, and Lorazepam, I am currently chaste, drug-wise. These don't do nearly enough for me anyway. The things I've found to really work are vigorous exercise, music, sex, and alcohol. Tribal sweat lodge ceremonies are also beneficial. And, I don't have to subject myself to the mental health complex to obtain any of these.

I still wear earplugs unremittingly, even at home. I am now confronting the possibility of stomach surgery for an anxiety-induced heartburn ailment. The most overwhelmingly hellish problem I have is still being driven in a car. I venture to say I have anxiety surpassing anyone in the movement. My distress and realizing its origins are what actually brought me to anarchism five years ago.

I am presently entitled to access to my hospital records, comprising all the notes Dilrod and Co. took about me. I'm assuming it'll be a long process with much red tape, so my apologies for the preclusion of such tidbits.

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Anxiety Disorders, Mental Hospitals

Continued from page 6

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As for visualizing ocean beaches and deep breathing type of things, are you kidding? My apologies, but I'm no superhuman. That kind of mind mastery is suspect even for the most ardent full-time meditating monk.

To put the icing on the cake, the woman who spews these Midwest, Inc. seminars and apparently runs the place, a self-proclaimed recovered anxiety-disorder sufferer, boasts that she has been on Oprah, Regis & Cathy Lee, Maury Povich, and other TV shows, and is a motivational speaker for Ford Motor, AT&T, Chrysler, McDonalds, and Merck Pharmaceuticals, among other corporations. The cluelessness involved here has no limit.

My own recovery has certainly been a challenge owing to my anarcho-primitivism. Indeed, upon engagement at the ward, my situation felt so formidable that I determined to be less antagonistic about technology, relegating these ideas, I suppose, to some sort of subconscious.

Clearly, most every anxiety disorder sufferer would not be victimized had we never left the primeval. What is really called for is total annihilation of mass technics, wherein mental misery would be a speck of what it is today.

Also murky is whether some or all mental diseases should be classified as such. There are the simply ludicrous categories such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity disorder for kids who can't sit still in classrooms, impulse control disorder, conduct disorder—all for those who feel the rug of self-determination constantly ripped out from under them (consciously or not) by the Megamachine.

It would be far more veridical to call mental illnesses

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However, Nesse strays into apathy when he argues, "But people live longer than monkeys and don't change jobs or family groups from month to month. That may be how these gray moods crossed the line from adaptation to disease." Merely a lack of change in social groups, and in jobs? Apparently, Nesse has amnesia disorder about civilization as a whole.

The duncery grows cancerous: "Depression-like symptoms in apes and monkeys suggest that depression is not a uniquely human—or even a modern—illness. Why does depression afflict [19 million Americans]?" (emphasis mine) Might I propose, Mr. Nesse, that evolution cannot outpace something—industrialization—that has only been an iota in our millions of years existence? But then again, Nesse has the nerve, or stupidity, to claim civilization has virtually no role in the stinking mess we're trapped in.

Incidentally, most people with depression have anxiety and vice versa. The two compound each other.

One of the most ghastly components of the psych system, carried out in conjunction with the government, is its deinstitutionalization policy. This process, initiated in the late 1950s, diminished U.S. institutional mental hospitals (not the type I was in, but the genuine asylums) from 560,000 beds to 130,000 by 1991. Many if not most have ended up homeless, left by the government and its citizens to linger the streets and rot.

There is an utterance in the book I earlier castigated, *Mind, Mood, and Medicine*, the ideas of which should not be oversights: "Society has used psychiatry as a repository for its manifold residual ills." I have not emphasized

vigorous exercise, music, sex, and alcohol. Tribal sweat lodge ceremonies are also beneficial. And, I don't have to subject myself to the mental health complex to obtain any of these.

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I am acquainted with a, if not the, major cultural leader and tribal college instructor of our tribe, who educates anyone earnest enough to listen on all things tribal including medicinal plants. I also know someone who took his plants class. There is no plant for tension that this elder spoke of, she said. I also perused the 512-page *Medicinal and other use of North American Plants: A Historical Survey of Indian Usage*. Hardly anything in there either. It seems natives never had much need for anxiety reduction.

Whenever I think of this, the primal beast, however betridden by tiger machine after tiger machine, clueless shrink after clueless shrink, stress after stress, rises up in me with fury and passion that will not be ignored.

Judi Bari bombing case to go to trial

Three hundred and fifty supporters of two Earth First! forest defense activists rallied outside the San Francisco FBI field office May 24 on the tenth anniversary of the day when a shrapnel-stuffed pipe bomb exploded in a car driven by Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney, crippling her.

The rally also celebrated the setting of an October 2001 trial date for the case of Bari v. USA which will bring the FBI and Oakland police to trial for conspiring to frame Cherney and the late Bari for the bombing that was meant to kill them.

The protest included sixty fiddlers (Judi's instrument) and other musicians, Art and Revolution's 30-foot Judi puppet, and cardboard fiddles that spelled

Continued on page 23

—graphic:
Rivista Anarchia,
c/o Editrice A,
cas. post. 17120,
20170 Milano, Italy



The Tao of Capitalism

Or, Going with the (Cash-) Flow

By Max Cafard

Lao Tzu was the mythic “Old Sage” of ancient China. We’re not sure whether he actually existed, but we do know that he founded Taoist philosophy. His legendary *Tao te Ching*, the “Classic of the Way and its Power,” is a subtle treatise that radically challenges our views of everything—including ourselves, nature and the world around us. I like to call it, “The Anarchist Prince,” for just as Machiavelli’s *The*

Capitalist looting is nothing new—it is the essence of the system, but attempts by Wall Street to appropriate the

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The Tao of Capitalism

Or, Going with the (Cash-) Flow

By Max Cafard

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His legendary *Tao te Ching*, the "Classic of the Way and its Power," is a subtle treatise that radically challenges our views of everything—including ourselves, nature and the world around us. I like to call it, "The Anarchist Prince," for just as Machiavelli's *The Prince* is a manual for rulers who wish to learn to rule, Lao Tzu's classic is written for rulers who want to learn how not to rule.

The Tao means literally the "way" or "path." It is at once the origin of all things and the way—the "natural path"—of the entire universe. It is also the unique way of each being, including the human kind of beings. So, it's something that each of us must discover personally, in our own lives.

For Lao Tzu, the way is not clearly marked, and finding it must be part of the journey. "The Tao that can be told of is not the eternal Tao." We foolish human beings usually assume we know the way ahead of time. We follow society's blind prejudices and our own rigid, self-centered ideas. As a result, we miss the interconnection of things, the bigger picture and the deeper truths.

As Lao Tzu puts it, we overlook the dynamic balance of yin and yang, the opposites that are really complements, the world's underlying unity in difference. He also teaches the importance of fu, return or recurrence, a concept that challenges civilization's naive ideas of linear progress, of conquest and domination, of infinite accumulation.

And, he speaks of wu wei, "doing without doing," which includes "ruling without ruling," or anarchic ruling. This means acting through tzu-jan or spontaneity, thus not forcing the world to fit our expectations; in fact, not even forcing ourselves to conform to our preconceptions of what we ought to be. Lao Tzu shocked his own patriarchal, authoritarian society by taking as his models for the anarchic sage-ruler the child, who experiences life as play and who acts spontaneously, and the female, "the ravine of the world," who nurtures and cares without dominating or taking possession.

Capitalist looting is nothing new—it is the essence of the system, but attempts by Wall Street to appropriate the words of the Taoist Old Sage are more than Max Cafard can bear.

In short, Lao Tzu's Tao is the absolute antithesis of all forms of domination—including concentrated economic power, the centralized state, patriarchy and the exploitation of nature. So, it came as a bit of a shock to me when I began to find the world's first philosophical anarchist invoked in defense of right-wing ideology and capitalist economics.

Right Wing Yin Yang

Ronald Reagan seems to have started this trend in his 1988 State of the Union Address. Reagan lumped together such "great ideas" as individual initiative, free-market economics, and Lao Tzu's advice to "govern a great nation as you would cook a small fish; do not overdo it." While Lao Tzu didn't explain precisely how one should cook a small fish, Reagan had no difficulty concluding that the Old Sage must obviously have been advocating laissez-faire capitalism as noted in *The New York Times* of January 26, 1988. Another amateur scholar of Eastern thought who shares this view of Lao Tzu is Murray Bookchin. In view of their collective wisdom we might call it the Reagan-Bookchin interpretation.

James A. Dorn, Vice President of the right-wing Cato Institute, outdid Reagan, discoursing with a straight face on topics such as "the Tao of Adam Smith," and injecting the poor corpse of Lao Tzu with a strong dose of the entrepreneurial spirit. In a speech reprinted in *The Cato*

Journal entitled "China's Future: Market Socialism or Market Taoism," he exhorts the wise leaders of China to go back to their own Taoist roots and "rediscover the principle of spontaneous order—the central principle of a true market system."

Of course, anyone vaguely familiar with the rulers of China—a gang of corrupt and amoral bureaucrats capable of brutal repression and even massive genocide—would think it highly unlikely that they would become converts to Lao Tzu's anarchic path of "spontaneous order." However, they just might be open to the idea that capitalism could offer them (just like the bureaucrats turned capitalists of Eastern Europe) a new means of plundering their country. And, with a good dose of Taoism thrown in, it would all be so spiritual and happen so spontaneously!

A more ambitious attempt to marry Taoism and the marketplace is presented in the book *Real Power: Business Lessons from the Tao te Ching*, in which quotations from Stephen Mitchell's feel-good, New Agey paraphrase of Lao Tzu are coupled with commentary by business writer and consultant James A. Autry. Autry cites the *Tao te Ching* extensively but very selectively (often cutting off a citation just before Lao Tzu gets to an embarrassingly anarchistic point).

In fact, he cooks up his "Taoism" much the way Ronald Reagan would cook a small fish—and the result is fishy indeed.

The Way of the Jaguar

To begin with, Autry completely ignores Lao Tzu's harsh condemnation of the materialistic society. Autry advises his manager to "go ahead and celebrate the abundance, all the perceived symbols of success, everything from a luxury car to a condo in some vacation spot. But don't get hung up on whether you have this stuff or not, and never lament what you don't have." Sounds very tempting, doesn't it? "Go ahead, trade that BMW in for that Jaguar you've been looking at. It won't really mean anything to you anyway. Hey, you're a really spiritual kind of guy." The question is: who's talking, Lao Tzu or Mephistopheles?

—graphic/Len Bracken from an announcement of his book, *Guy Debord: Revolutionary*



The Old Sage himself sees the accumulation and concentration of wealth as being, far from any cause for "celebration," a fatal snare to be avoided at all costs. He warns that "to have little is to possess" while "to have plenty is to be perplexed." And, he is positively scathing in his judgment of the social consequences of luxury and economic inequality: "Elegant clothes are worn, sharp weapons are carried, foods and drinks are enjoyed beyond limit, and wealth and treasures are accumulated in excess. This is robbery and extravagance, this is indeed not Tao."

Elsewhere he advises: "Abandon skill and discard profit; then will there be no thieves or robbers" and suggests that we should "have few desires," a dictum in absolute contradiction to the society of consumption, which is hell-bent on inflaming infinite desires for the unattainable. Autry wisely decides not to touch this chapter at all!

In fact, one of the most pervasive themes of the *Tao te Ching* is the danger of certain desires—and particularly the desire for material accumulation—out of control.

In the typical business enterprise what ultimately controls are the structural constraints of operating in a competitive, corporate-dominated market economy, and the imperious necessity to maximize profit and economic efficiency. This points out the biggest problem with market Taoism: its complete failure to confront the issue of means and ends. It is pervaded by bad faith and self-deception.

do what they do best, in the interest of all." Is it possible that the bottom line might dictate that some are assigned to do things they don't do best? Is it possible that the company needs their help in producing something that isn't "in the interest of all?" If Autry's Taoist manager actually tried to "assure" anything other than what serves corporate goals, that perennial optimist would soon be assuring him or herself that, as Autry puts it, getting fired may sometimes be "one of the greatest gifts" one can receive.

So, let's face it, Autrey's managers will control—by

unionization can be avoided if employees such as "mail sorters" are not given the outrageously mistaken impression they are mere "little people" in the corporation, since this would "distort [sic] organizational hierarchy into a social class system within companies." Since class for Autry is all in the mind, the idea that a hierarchy of power, status and wealth within an organization might actually be a social class system is entirely incomprehensible to him.

Autry criticizes such dismal corporate tendencies as downsizing and outsourcing, and optimistically concludes that they are not really in the company's long-term interest. He fails to consider the not obviously impossible case in which a company manages to benefit economically from doing both, or the even more troubling instance in which a company shuts down a plant completely and moves to a location with cheaper labor, no annoying unions and a conveniently authoritarian state. His most relevant bit of advice to managers for such an occasion is to express the enormous, heartfelt respect that the corporation has for the laid-off employees (perhaps a perverse variation on the ancient tribal custom of expressing gratitude to an animal before killing and eating it).

For Autry, the role of the "wise leader" is to assure that the employees "understand how their individual jobs connect with the greater purpose of the business. But what such a noble leader must systematically ignore is how that purpose connects to, or fails to connect to, the "greater purposes" of the Tao: how it might trample on the way of each person, devastate the way of the community, and lay waste to the way of nature.

Will The Real Lao Tzu Please Stand Up?

True, Lao Tzu says that "the Tao is vague." But that doesn't mean that it's no more than putty in one's ideological hands.

The deeply revolutionary message of the *Tao te Ching* is perhaps best expressed in the "three treasures" that Lao Tzu advises us to "guard and keep": compassion, simplicity and humility. The Old Sage would never recommend that these treasures be tacked onto a job description and ignored in the larger picture of our lives, society and nature. He would be appalled at the idea of managing in an amiable, frugal and self-effacing way an irresponsible, destructive enterprise that promotes material accumulation, waste and pollution, social inequality and status-seeking.

Lao Tzu remarks in a crucial passage that "the Way of Heaven reduces whatever is excessive and supplements whatever is insufficient. The way of man is different. It reduces the insufficient to offer to the excessive." This early diagnosis of civilization is an apt assessment of the

scathing in his judgment of the social consequences of luxury and economic inequality: "Elegant clothes are worn, sharp weapons are carried, foods and drinks are enjoyed beyond limit, and wealth and treasures are accumulated in excess. This is robbery and extravagance, this is indeed not Tao."

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In fact, one of the most pervasive themes of the Tao te Ching is the danger of certain desires—and particularly the desire for material accumulation—out of control. Autry quotes an entire chapter of the Tao te Ching with the notable exception of this embarrassing passage: "Do not value rare treasures, so that the people will not steal. Do not display objects of desire, so that the people's hearts shall not be disturbed." The market Taoists ignore the fact that the enterprises managed by their presumably incorruptible and virtuous managers have the goal of arousing in the consumer just such disturbing, destructive impulses.

The Means Justify The Ends

For Autry's manager, "The acceptance of non-control is the only way to manage things." "Non-control" (a variation on wu wei) is a concept dear to Lao Tzu, the enemy of all conventional ideas of ruling. His anarchic rule-without-ruling means that we should influence the world through our lives and personal example, rather than through hierarchical authority and coercion.

But such "non-control" is the antithesis of the role of today's corporate manager, who is obviously an authority-figure in the corporate power-structure, and whose job it is to make decisions for others. Lao Tzu's sage-ruler is one "whose existence is (merely) known by the people—or perhaps even "not known by the people" (depending on which ancient manuscript we follow). You can be sure that in any corporation the employees will know precisely who the bosses are and where they rank in the corporate hierarchy. And most will be intelligent enough to be very careful around any manager who claims to practice "non-control"!

Whereas Lao Tzu teaches that each must find his or her own way, Autry's mellow, New Age manager (a bit like Plato's Old Age Philosopher-King) arranges things to "assure that all employees are assigned [my emphasis] to

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do what they do best, in the interest of all." Is it possible that the bottom line might dictate that some are assigned to do things they don't do best? Is it possible that the company needs their help in producing something that isn't "in the interest of all?" If Autry's Taoist manager actually tried to "assure" anything other than what serves corporate goals, that perennial optimist would soon be assuring him or herself that, as Autry puts it, getting fired may sometimes be "one of the greatest gifts" one can receive.

So, let's face it, Autry's managers will control—by controlling. But ironically, there is a grain of truth in his idea of the manager who is "not in control." Enlightened managers should indeed consider themselves to lack such control, but not primarily because it discourages obnoxious managerial styles and evokes better compliance, as Autry says between the lines. It is rather because something else really is in ultimate control. In the typical business enterprise what ultimately controls are the structural constraints of operating in a competitive, corporate-dominated market economy, and the imperious necessity to maximize profit and economic efficiency.

This points out the biggest problem with market Taoism: its complete failure to confront the issue of means and ends. It is pervaded by bad faith and self-deception. Unless we want to lapse into some sort of ideological dream world, we must ask a question that Autry and the market Taoists scrupulously avoid: what ends are served by the "real power" of managers? Let's be realistic about this: the goal is to offer to consumers precisely those objects of desire that captivate their imaginations and win their hearts, to produce those very "rare treasures" that underlie the social hierarchy, economic status and prestige and which Lao Tzu condemns so scathingly.

This is what the Tao of the Bottom Line demands.

Zen and the Art of Union-Busting

We eagerly await Autry's forthcoming work on this topic, but he has already given us some pointers. He optimistically informs his New Age managerial readers that "[u]nions form not primarily to increase pay and benefits; they arise in situations where employees feel denigrated." It's an old story: "Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your wounded pride!" He suggests that horrifying disasters such as

logical hands.

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Lao Tzu remarks in a crucial passage that "the Way of Heaven reduces whatever is excessive and supplements whatever is insufficient. The way of man is different. It reduces the insufficient to offer to the excessive." This early diagnosis of civilization is an apt assessment of the social and ecological consequences of the contemporary globalized market economy.

Elsewhere, Lao Tzu states the related harsh truth that Heaven and earth are not humane. They regard all things as straw dogs." Straw dogs were insignificant objects thrown into the fire in ritual celebrations. Lao Tzu warns us that in the case of reality, we can't "have it our way" (the metaphysical Fallacy of the Whopper), though we certainly should try to find our way. If we continue to follow the distorted, destructive "way of man" (and "economic man," in particular), we will suffer the inevitable fate of those who live a life out of balance. We'll find out what it's like to be a straw dog that thinks it's top dog.

To put it another way, global capitalism looks increasingly like a very big fish spewing poisonous filth in its small and delicate pond. Alas, you would-be Managers of Tao. Your fish is cooked!

* * * *

Max Cafard is a pre-ancientist philosopher who inhabits the Island of New Orleans and edits *Psychic Swamp: The Surre(gion)alist Review*, a cyberjournal soon to appear at www.psychicswamp.com. He is active in Surrealists for Social Responsibility, the Church of the Great Green Frog, and the Post-industrial Workers of the World (Deconstruction Workers Union 666).

Tao te Ching citations are from Wing-Tsit Chan's translation in *Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). Citations of Autry are from James A. Autry and Stephen Mitchell, *Real Power: Business Lessons from the Tao Te Ching* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1998).

In the year since the anti-capitalist/anti-corporate demonstrations in Seattle, intense actions have occurred in Washington DC, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, London, Prague, and dozens of other cities across this country and the world.

They have functioned as models of resistance to global capitalism's exploitation of labor, environmental degradation, and state repression. Hence, it is disturbing to see some activists now advocating participation in the domesticated arena of electoral politics.

Abstention from voting has long been a highly held principle within the anarchist and anti-authoritarian movement which historically views electoral participation as an act legitimizing the rule of the state and capital.

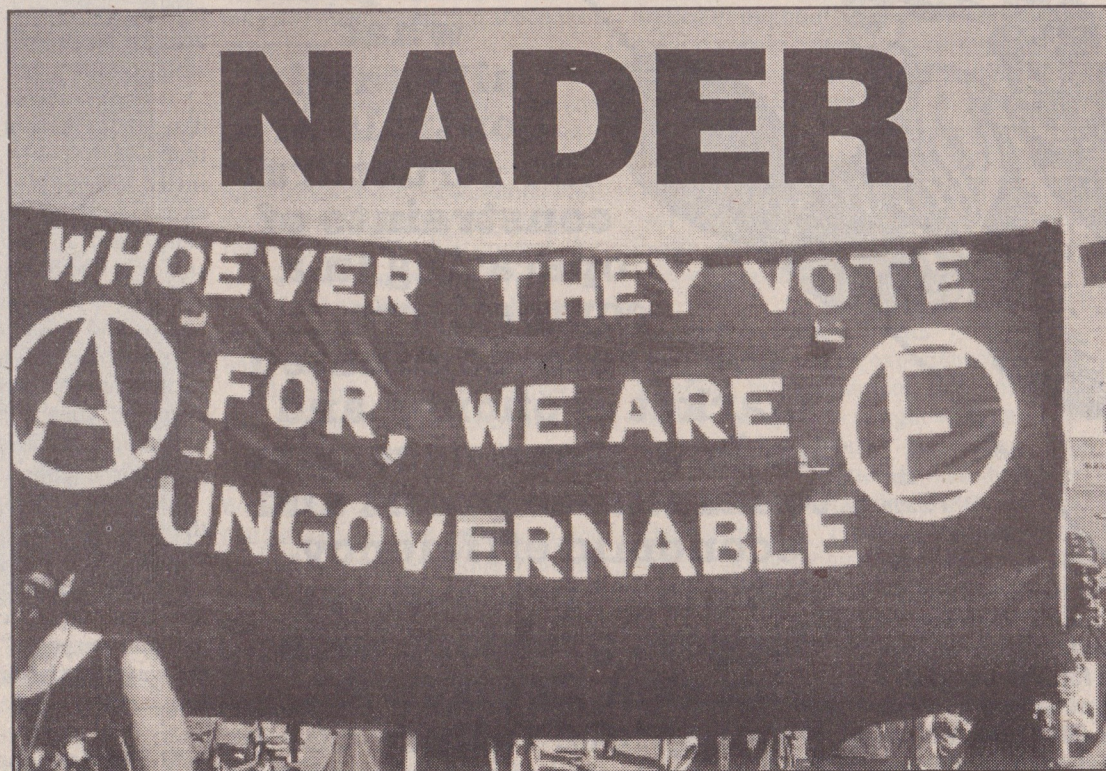
This refusal is not a "utopian" position, but rather a realistic recognition that voting furthers only the *illusion* of power claimed to reside in the political process. The actual command centers of capitalist society lie in elite economic sectors which use government as their political and repressive arm and are structured as to be impenetrable by those who desire reform.

The capitalist class reserves governmental positions exclusively for those people and parties willing to accept the reigning racket. Revolution is always declared to be "unrealistic," but it is surely no more so than the ability to achieve reforms that seriously threaten capitalism.

Voting Makes for Good Citizens

Autonomous activity, people's real power, is external to the governing apparatus, and is feared by the state. This was seen in the official reaction over the last year during confrontations with those protesting the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Or-

Saying No To NADER



Black Bloc banner during a demonstration at the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles, Aug. 16, 2000. —photo/Hans Bennett

reasonable alternative to the one party state presently in power. He is divorced from corporate funding, has an admirable history of exposing some of the worst corporate abuses, and advocates reforms which, if enacted, would create a more livable life under capitalism.

But since Nader has a less than a negligible chance of winning the presidency, his campaign has the most immediate practical effect of re-integrating people back into the system precisely at a time when there is widespread distrust of official

of Detroit.

Under the banner headline, "Building Democracy, One Vote at a Time," the press release laments that "More than half of all voting-age Americans DO NOT VOTE," (original emphasis) and goes on to list Nader's proposal for "encouraging greater voter participation," and speaks of "our democracy." *Our* democracy. Whew!

You might expect radicals to celebrate the fact that so many people have seen through the myth that political power resides at the ballot box. Instead, a strange

heavily insulated elites, impervious to electoral politics, but vote for the racket whose slogans or rhetoric most closely expresses their aspirations or ethics.

So, trade unions, women and minorities back the Democrats understanding all the while that the Party has a corporate agenda no different from that of its opponent, and its candidate, the odious Gore, has more in common with Bush than differences. But they will hold their noses and vote for the Vice President on the basis of expected Supreme Court nominations to protect a woman's right to abortion, or simply to forestall the slightly more reactionary Bush from moving into the White House. In essence, a defensive vote.

The electoral system is in shambles. Even a good proportion of voters who do make it to the polls think it's a ruse, but now come Nader and the Green Party, precisely at a point when the official system of rule is seen as the transparent sham it is by more than half the American people who "DO NOT VOTE," and they propose to encourage "greater voter participation." It's almost as if those who want to maintain the illusion of

popular rule didn't have Nader, they would probably invent him.

This is not to say that Nader and his supporters are conscious tools of a capitalist plot to religitimize the most passive, ineffective act that is legally permissible, but that's what they are doing for all practical purposes.

Nader—Stalking Horse for Dems

Nader is a genuine crusader for reform on a number of fronts, and his platform puts the reactionary, pro-business, anti-worker, pro-cop, pro-war, pro-death penalty, anti-poor, anti-environmental stance of the two frontrunners into stark relief. Nader supports every important reform from anti-WTO to anti-sweatshop, but when the smoke clears, he stands as noth-

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Encouraging voting makes for "good citizens." Participation in electoral politics takes the emphasis out of the streets; just what the rulers want. It calms things down, and lets business proceed as usual. Perhaps most importantly, it delegitimizes those who see direct action as a strategy to stop the capitalist juggernaut. Blinded by the spectacle of continual television and newspaper coverage, voters falsely view the elections as access to power.

Much of the current electoral effort on the Left revolves around the Green Party's campaign of Ralph Nader for the U.S. presidency, much of it fueled by the same sentiments and people who were at the center of many of the recent street protests. At quick glance, Nader looks like a

reasonable alternative to the one party state presently in power. He is divorced from corporate funding, has an admirable history of exposing some of the worst corporate abuses, and advocates reforms which, if enacted, would create a more livable life under capitalism.

But since Nader has a less than a negligible chance of winning the presidency, his campaign has the most immediate practical effect of re-integrating people back into the system precisely at a time when there is widespread distrust of official

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institutions among all sectors of society. Granted his run for office permits another forum for the expression of anti-corporate views, but Nader's real message may lie in the form, not the content of his campaign.

Take for example a late September press release from the Green Party announcing an appearance of their standard bearer along with liberal social commentary TV comedian, Michael Moore, in the latter's home town of Flint, Michigan, just north

of Detroit.

Under the banner headline, "Building Democracy, One Vote at a Time," the press release laments that "More than half of all voting-age Americans DO NOT VOTE," (original emphasis) and goes on to list Nader's proposal for "encouraging greater voter participation," and speaks of "our democracy." Our democracy. Whew!

You might expect radicals to celebrate the fact that so many people have seen through the myth that political power resides at the ballot box. Instead, a strange

coalition of leftists, liberals, and anarchists (the latter who should know better) are trying to herd the half of the potential electorate who "DO NOT VOTE," back into the polling booth.

Civics Class Democracy

What can the other half be thinking who overcome the cynicism and lethargy the official political scene engenders to actually bother to cast a ballot?

Obviously, some actively want to encourage the continuation of the existing racket. Others fall for the civics class definition of democracy, hoping, as liberals have for 100 years, that the bad guys will be voted out of office and replaced by good guys who will fix the country's ills.

Still others realize the system is a giant con game run for the benefit of rich, powerful,

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He has said it clearly himself. His campaign strategy is to move the Democratic Party to the left, and he hopes that his participation in the election will bring out enough voters to insure a Democratic victory in Congress. This may be of interest to liberals, but what are radicals and anarchists doing in this mess?

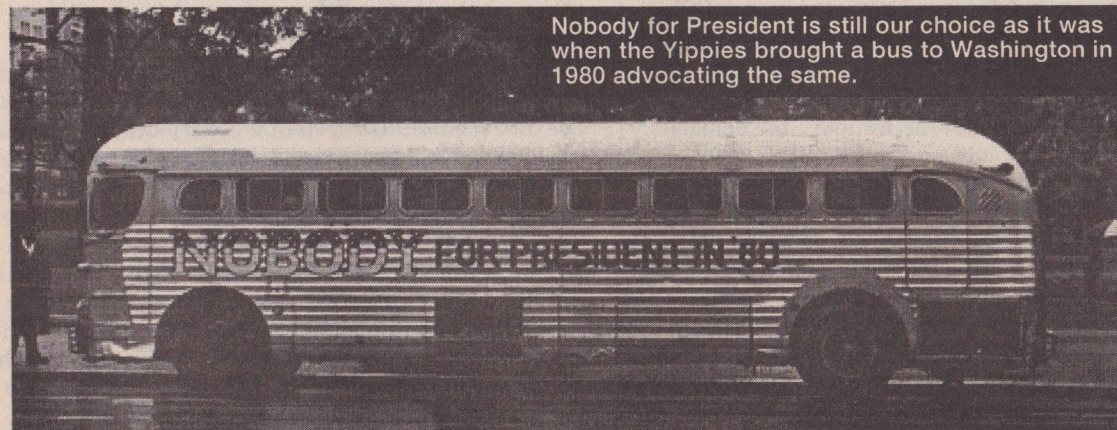
From 1992-4, there was a Democratic president *and* Congress, but the business of capital and the empire went on unabated with some things even worsening such as the environment and the growing disparity of wealth.

The Greens also hope to enter the golden circle of electoral politics by getting five percent of the vote, hence entitling them to about \$12 million of government funding for the next election. One can only anticipate a scene at the next Green gathering similar to what occurred at this year's Reform Party convention when the thieves began to fall out over the loot.

There is a new spirit of opposition to capitalism afoot in the world (not just to the corporatism that Nader criticizes), and it had its most dramatic expression in the streets from Seattle to Prague.

Many of those participating in the demonstrations put forth strident critiques of capitalist society and the state machinery

Continued on page 23



Nobody for President is still our choice as it was when the Yuppies brought a bus to Washington in 1980 advocating the same.

Fifth Estate Note: Since his 1991 review/essay "Operation Gender Blur," Sunfrog has written about radical sexuality for the *Fifth Estate*. Both 1992's "Pornography and Pleasure: Beyond Capital, Beyond Patriarchy," and 1993's "Queer Anarchy: Anarcha-Faggots Demand to be De-Manned, a (de)Manifesto" garnered extensive reactions from our readers, from thankful praise to condemnatory criticism. With "Group Sex," we welcome the return of Sunfrog's thoughtful, passionate, and uncompromising erotic politics to our pages.

An edited excerpt of a chapter from a much larger work, *Utopian Prospects, Communal Projects: Visionary Experiments in Literature and Everyday Life*, this essay reflects Sunfrog's intellectual and collective pursuits since he left Detroit to establish a rural commune in Tennessee. While the other chapters in Sunfrog's study (addressing ecology and work respectively) cover terrain familiar to many *FE* readers, this treatise on free love focuses on aspects of the personal as political often ignored in activist periodicals.

In his self-published book, Sunfrog mingles radical social theory, history, literary criticism, and personal narrative to create a festive utopian vision. This abridged version excludes his extensive analysis of the novels *The Fifth Sacred Thing* by Starhawk and *Ecotopia* by Ernest Callenbach that figure prominently in the larger work. To see more of Sunfrog's literary analysis, libertarian vision, and communal life, we encourage readers to read Ron Sakolsky's review in this section and order the complete text available from the author. See review for ordering information.

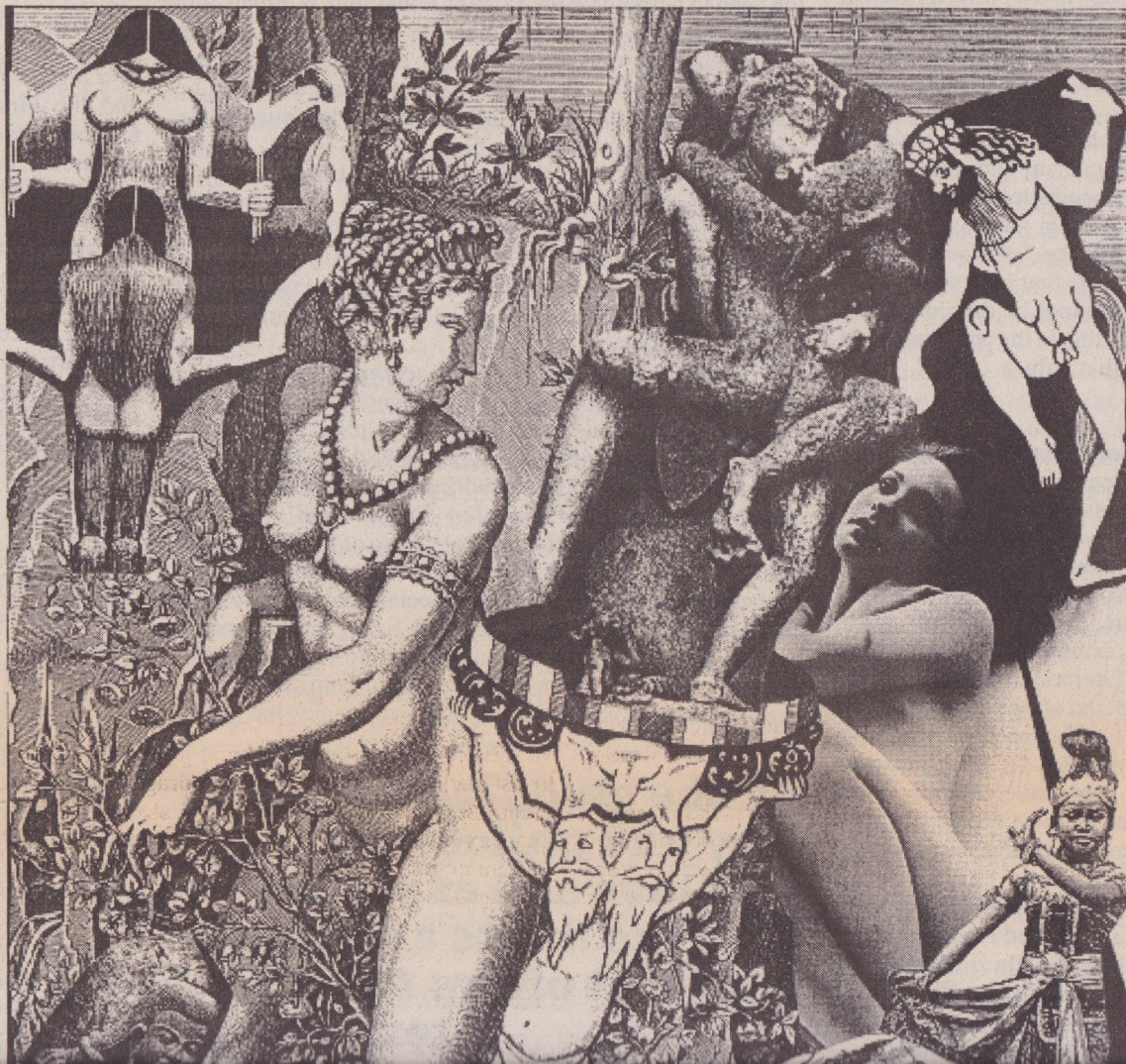
by Andy "Sunfrog" Smith

"Free love? As if love is anything but free!"

—Emma Goldman, "Marriage and Love," *The Traffic in Women*

"Most plans for creating a more just society focus on ameliorating human misery. They address unemployment, hunger, illiteracy, class-based inequity, unequal access to medical care, pollution, overpopulation, and discrimination based on sex, race, age, or membership in other devalued groups. While I care about all of those problems, I also wonder why so many of the proposed solutions make me shudder with dread. Perhaps it is because people who take on such enormous political chores are usually suffering from burnout. There is no room in their brave new worlds for fun, creativity, ornamentation, play, and desire. I am skeptical of utopian schemes that don't take into account the human need for adventure."

—Pat Califia, "Sluts in Utopia: The Future of Radical Sex," *Public Sex*



orientation that embraces not only loving people of both genders but having an erotic relationship with the entire universe and life itself.

Today, polyamory and polysexuality attract many younger iconoclasts informed by several diverse cultural influences—including anarchism, punk rock, bisexuality, neo-tribal dance music, modern primitivism, safer-sex, paganism, Radical Faeries, Queer Nation, and sex-positive feminist writers, such as Annie Sprinkle, Susie Bright, Pat Califia, and Carol Queen. Alternatives to monogamy have a vast history in the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and queer communities where, until only recently, exclusive monogamous relationships were an aberration rather than the norm.

Contemporary polyamory emerges in a variety of arrangements including committed foursomes and triads, group marriages and erotic affinity groups, orgies or safer sex play parties, one-night stands, flings, affairs, and festive flirtations. However, the most common form of polyamory is the non-exclusive primary relationship that honors the need for healthy

Free love a relic of the

by Andy "Sunfrog" Smith

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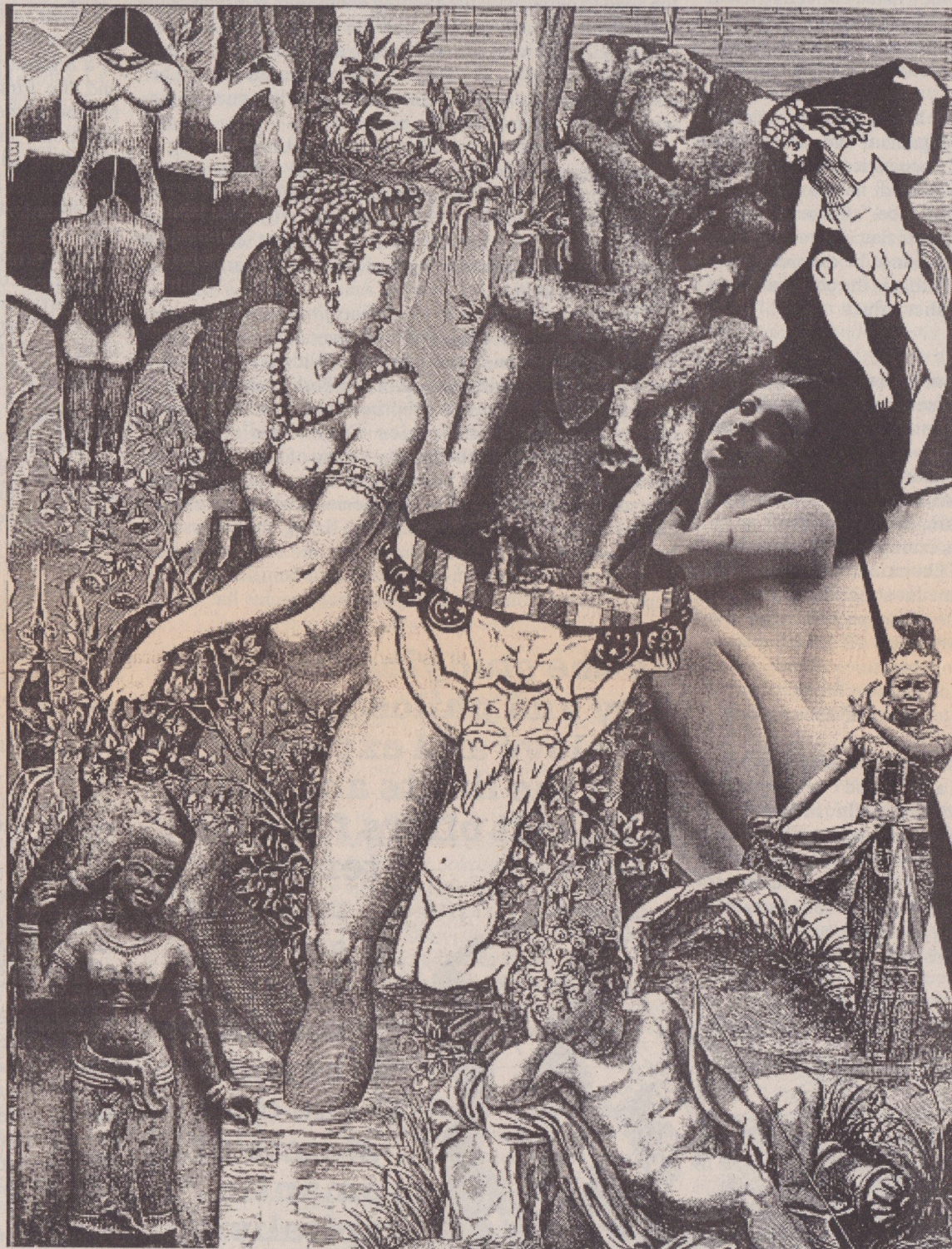
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Is free love a relic of the past? Does principled promiscuity still persist at the dawn of the twenty-first century? Where do anti-authoritarian radicals stand in the cultural combat that would like to see erotic experiments relegated to a debased subculture, viewed on a talk show, banned from the Internet, or devoured by a religious holy war?

Despite the demonization of deviance and AIDS-era erotophobia, free love experiments continued to flourish throughout 1990s and show no signs of demise as we begin a new century. The latest wave in



orientation that embraces not only loving people of both genders but having an erotic relationship with the entire universe and life itself.

Today, polyamory and polysexuality attract many younger iconoclasts informed by several diverse cultural influences—including anarchism, punk rock, bisexuality, neo-tribal dance music, modern primitivism, safer-sex, paganism, Radical Faeries, Queer Nation, and sex-positive feminist writers, such as Annie Sprinkle, Susie Bright, Pat Califia, and Carol Queen. Alternatives to monogamy have a vast history in the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and queer communities where, until only recently, exclusive monogamous relationships were an aberration rather than the norm.

Contemporary polyamory emerges in a variety of arrangements including committed foursomes and triads, group marriages and erotic affinity groups, orgies or safer sex play parties, one-night stands, flings, affairs, and festive flirtations. However, the most common form of polyamory is the non-exclusive primary relationship that honors the need for healthy and honest sexual liaisons with other people without threatening or undermining the relationship with the primary partner. When parameters of safety and consent are clearly negotiated, casual sex can be genuinely liberating.

However, free love did not begin with the counterculture of the 1960s or 1990s. Historians and anthropologists have shown that archaic models for what we call "alternative lifestyles" today exist cross-culturally and throughout history. In *On the Prehistory of Marriage*, Josef Kohler constructs

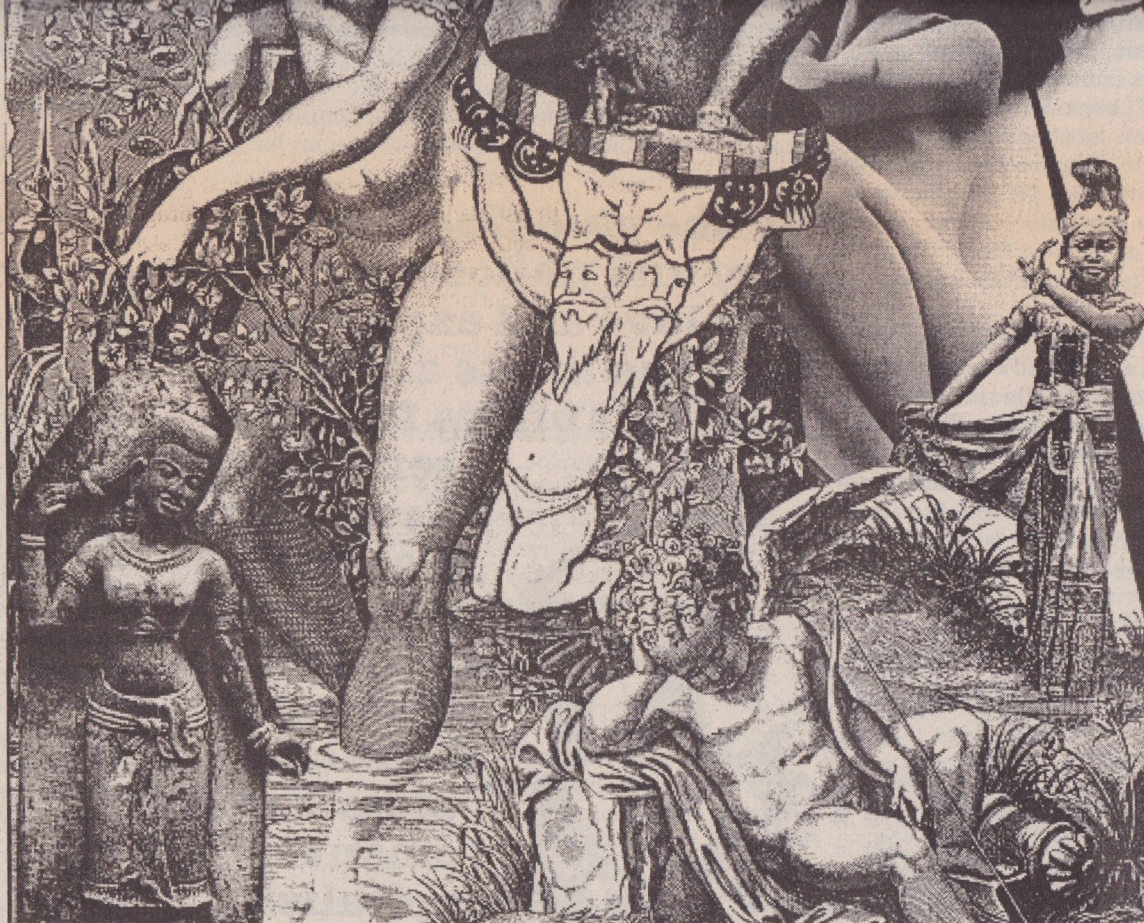
also wonder why so many of the proposed solutions make me shudder with dread. Perhaps it is because people who take on such enormous political chores are usually suffering from burnout. There is no room in their brave new worlds for fun, creativity, ornamentation, play, and desire. I am skeptical of utopian schemes that don't take into account the human need for adventure."

—Pat Califia, "Sluts in Utopia: The Future of Radical Sex," *Public Sex*

Is free love a relic of the past? Does principled promiscuity still persist at the dawn of the twenty-first century? Where do anti-authoritarian radicals stand in the cultural combat that would like to see erotic experiments relegated to a debased subculture, viewed on a talk show, banned from the Internet, or devalued by a religious holy war?

Despite the demonization of deviance and AIDS-era erotophobia, free love experiments continued to flourish throughout 1990s and show no signs of demise as we begin a new century. The latest wave in the free love movement is often organized around the concept of "Poly," for polyamory and polysexual.

Polyamory refers to the philosophy and practice of loving more than one person simultaneously. Etymologically, the word polyamory suggests "many loves" and has recently become an umbrella term for a variety of alternative relationship models that share an ethic of compassion, integrity, and complete honesty to combat the negative social stigma associated with words like cheating, swinging, and promiscuity. *Polysexual*, almost a synonym for utopian bisexual, the term describes a person with an inclusive sexual



GROUP SEX

Communal Ethics of Eroticism, Free Love, and the Extended Family

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In *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture*, Arthur Evans expands Kohler's ideas about sexual variety among primitive peoples as he describes orgies and sex worship in Africa, America, and other parts of the premodern world. About these ecstatic rituals, Evans writes, "Their orgies were acts of sexual worship to the power of sex [primitive peoples] felt in themselves and in nature around them. Nature people did, indeed, believe that through

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GROUP SEX

Continued from previous page

such acts their bodies would become stronger, the crops would grow taller, the sun would shine brighter, and the rains would come in profusion when needed. But they believed these things because they had a collective tribal feeling of the power of sex throbbing through the whole of nature; their experience of sex was so open, public, communal and intense that they felt it reverberate through the whole cosmos."

Additionally, Evans traces the historical roots of sexual liberation to early European paganism and nature worship, contrasting uninhibited, orgiastic rites with our modern condition of "alienation from nature, sexual repression, self-denial, and obedience." Throughout his book, Evans convincingly suggests that economic injustice and exploitation of nature cannot be divorced from the wholesale denial of the body that is the cornerstone of normative Christian and capitalist values.

"Hippie"-era Orgies

In America, the roots of contemporary erotic experiments can also be traced to nineteenth-century utopian communities. Free love also continued to exist in bohemian enclaves throughout the twentieth century. Many factors contributed to the well-known reputations of "hippie"-era orgies and open relationships in the late 1960s and early 1970s, distinguishing this period of erotic experimentation from previous examples. "Second wave" feminism, Stonewall-era gay liberation, the widespread availability of birth control, media attention focused on the counterculture, and the rise of sympathetic scholarly investigation into radical movements all contributed to widening celebrations and condemnations of free love. For participants, free love was an emblem for the convergence of the public and private, political and personal, social and spiritual.

Collective gestures towards erotic freedom and experimental relationships offer a profound counter-tradition to the prevalent puritan and ascetic ethic in American history. By studying the history and philosophy of free love and exploring both the limits and possibilities it

Rather than celebrate marriage as a natural outgrowth of love between two people, Reich asserts that any marginally redemptive features of modern marriage are consumed by the need to perpetuate the existing economic, political, and social order; thus, marriage and the family become mere "ideological training ground[s] for every member of authoritarian society." For Reich, a social revolution must be a sexual revolution, and the affirmation of life must begin with an affirmation of erotic pleasure.

From this critical rejection of conventional monogamous marriage and the patriarchal nuclear family, radical activists in the late 1960s and the early 1970s attempted to incorporate a Reichian ethic of sexual affirmation into social and sexual alternatives that included committed communes and group marriages along with ecstatic orgies and casual swinging.

The manner in which we define *family* as a culture continues to be a loaded and controversial topic. Living with other people and raising healthy children are stressful and energy-consuming endeavors in both traditional and nontraditional families, in suburban apartments or at rural communes. In the *Ecotopian Encyclopedia*, Ernest Callenbach contends, "In the long sweep of human history, the nuclear family will probably be seen as a very brief aberration, brought about by the special needs of industrial capitalism and the isolated suburban living made possible by cars, but insufficient for nurturing and supporting human beings. In [communes and extended families] we will approximate the ancient groupings our species has relied

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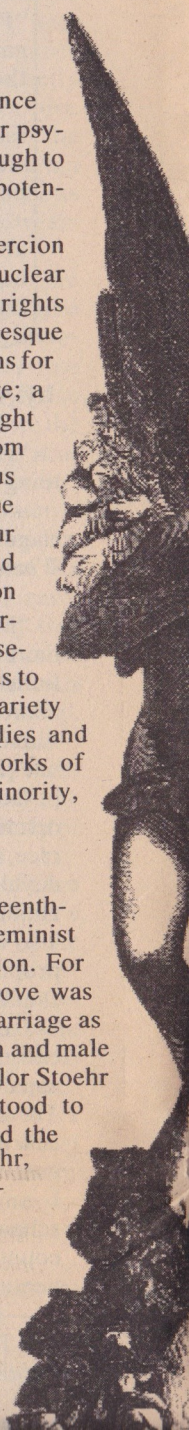
on for survival: small bands whose variety of strengths and talents give great resilience against outside threats, and whose interior psychological life is rich and complicated enough to challenge its members' developmental potentials."

Today, a Reichian analysis of the coercion inherent in the patriarchal, heterosexual, nuclear family has lost some ground: leading gay rights activists have ceased calling for a Whitmanesque "army of lovers" and are begging politicians for the right to imitate heterosexual marriage; a few feminists have joined the religious right in a legislative war against sexual freedom and the First Amendment; self-righteous pronouncements about the sanctity of the traditional family flood the culture as our religious and political leaders cling to rigid notions of kinship. Nonetheless, common alternatives to life-long heterosexual marriages continue to abound, ranging from serial monogamy to single-parent households to unmarried cohabitation. Furthermore, a variety of libertarian models for extended families and erotic affinity groups that involve networks of lovers and their children, although a minority, refuse to go away.

Feminism and free love

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Collective gestures towards erotic freedom and experimental relationships offer a profound counter-tradition to the prevalent puritan and ascetic ethic in American history. By studying the history and philosophy of free love and exploring both the limits and possibilities it offers for contemporary radicals seeking free relationships beyond the constricts of romantic capitalism, we can hopefully renew our confidence in the power of love to challenge social conventions and help create more pleasurable lives.

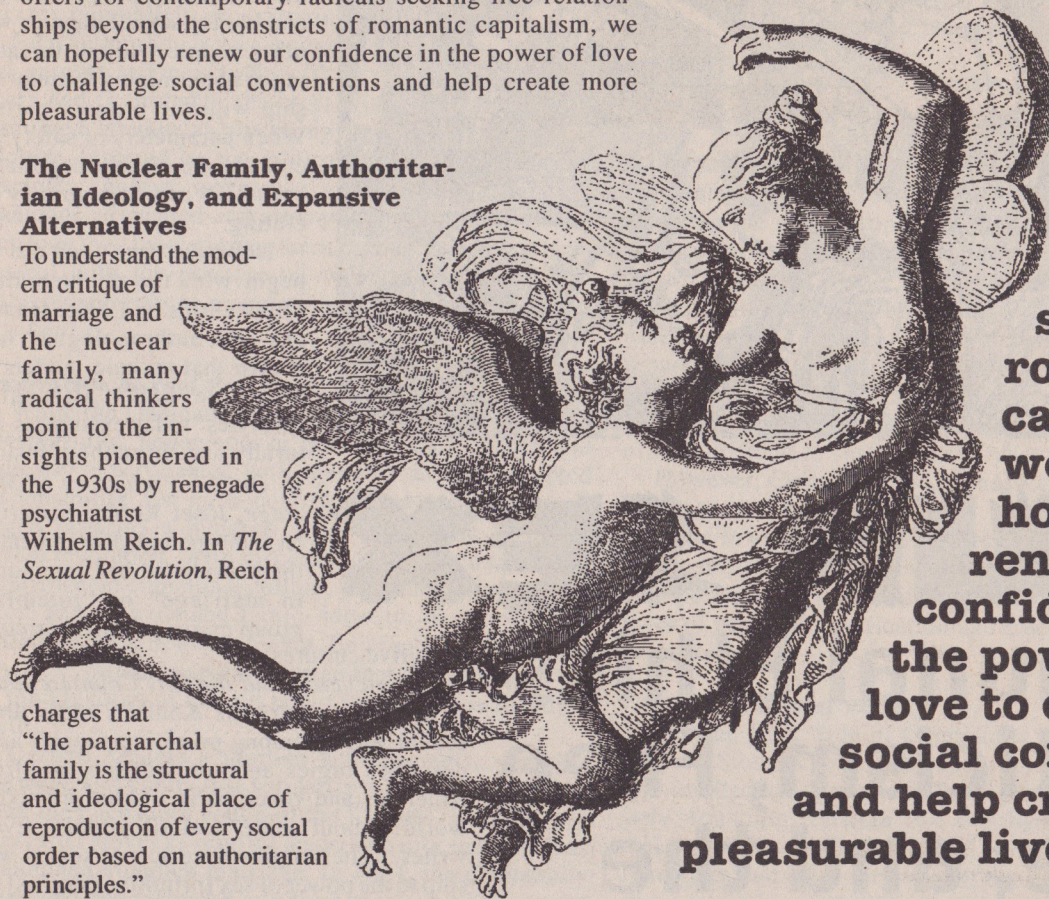
The Nuclear Family, Authoritarian Ideology, and Expansive Alternatives

To understand the modern critique of marriage and the nuclear family, many radical thinkers point to the insights pioneered in the 1930s by renegade psychiatrist Wilhelm Reich. In *The Sexual Revolution*, Reich

charges that "the patriarchal family is the structural and ideological place of reproduction of every social order based on authoritarian principles."

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The Ludic Path

Utopian Prospects, Communal Projects: Visionary Experiments in Literature and Everyday Life, Andy Sunfrog Smith, self-published, 2000, 65 pages, \$12. Available from the author, post paid, at 1467 Pumpkin Hollow Rd. Liberty TN 37095

by Ron Sokolsky

As the late Middle Western novelist, Meridel Le Sueur, once advised her younger anarchist biographer Neala Schleuning in relation to a question about her philosophy, "That's the problem with you intellectuals. You constantly want to analyze. Life's not like that. I'm not like that. Writing isn't like that. Not real writing. You have to be in a wholly different place. Get rid of those dead, lifeless forms! How do they teach you to write? Beginning, middle, end? That's not life. And that's not writing."

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Anarchist Communalism

Taking a similar tack in his recent book project, *Utopian Prospects, Communal Projects*, Andy Sunfrog Smith consciously does not seek scholarly distance from communal life. As he puts it, "While scholars who do not participate in the 'lifestyle' of radical activism and anarchist communalism write about utopias with a critical distance I cannot share, my ability to convincingly synthesize theory, literature, and everyday life is increased by my intimacy and my unique perspective on the material." He is a proud member of the Pumpkin Hollow community, and his own subjectivity and personal growth there are very much present in varying degrees in each and every page of his book on communalism. In approaching the book in this way, he evidences a

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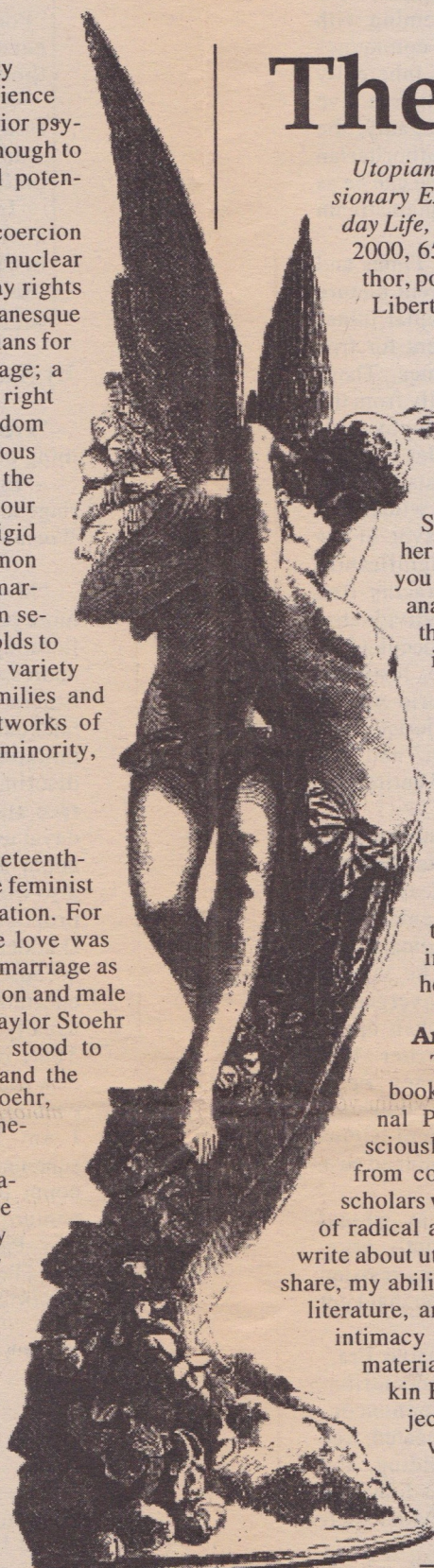
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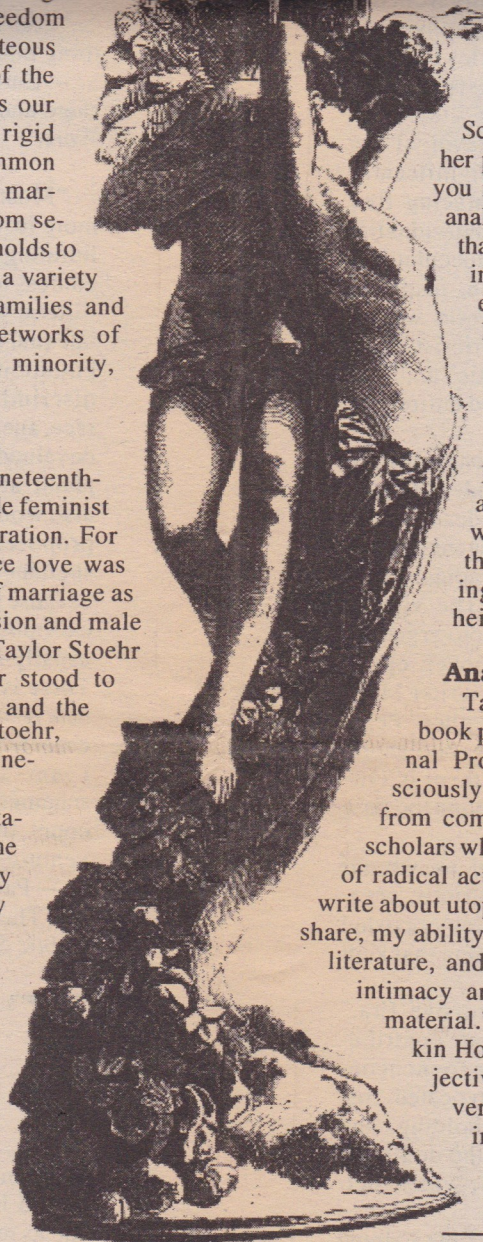
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However, this is not a failure of the philosophy of free love as much as it is a testimonial to the fact that widespread socialization into traditional gender roles and puritanical sexual repression cannot be entirely overcome without radically restructuring society. An overt refusal or unintentional inability by both men and women to maintain the historical connection between free love and feminism during the sexual revolution may be responsible, in part, for the feminist backlash against sexual freedom that took hold in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Addressing this backlash in "Among Us, Against Us: Right Wing Feminism" in her book, *Public Sex*, Pat Califia chronicles the propaganda and political goals of the feminist anti-pornography movement spearheaded by Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon. While Dworkin and

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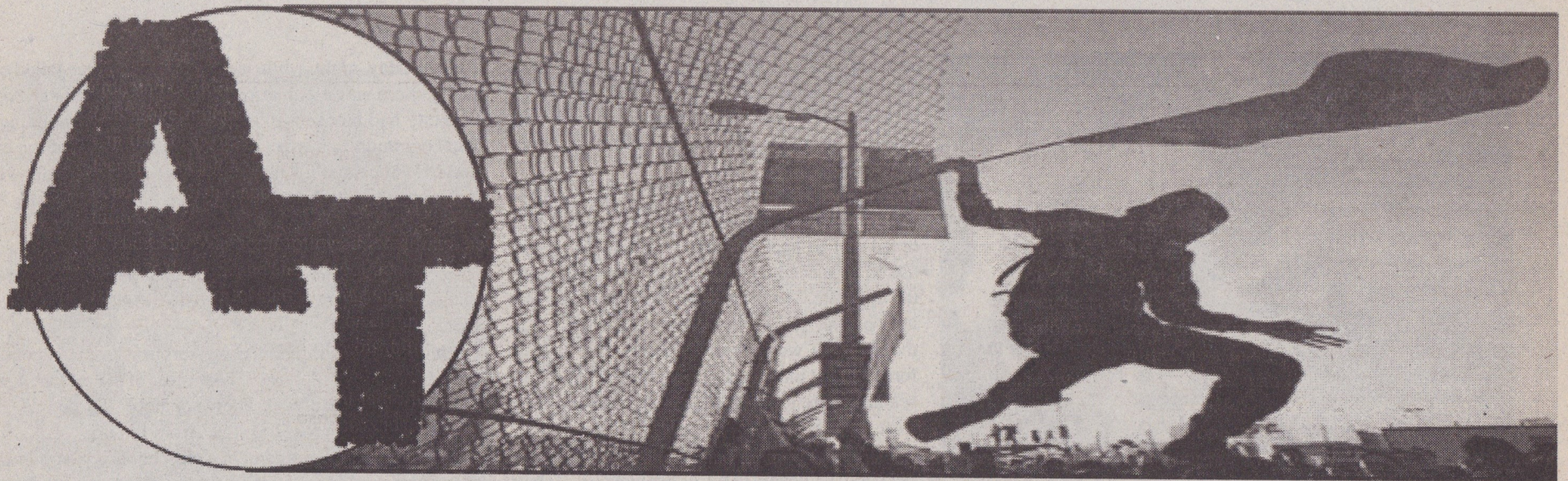
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Active Transformation

Special Fifth Estate Convention Edition 2000
A Direct Action Anarchist Newspaper

Anarchist Statement on GOP and Democratic Conventions By Anarchists

"We make war upon the State as the chief invader of person and property, as the cause of substantially all the crime and misery that exist, as itself the most gigantic criminal extant. It manufactures criminals faster than it punishes them. It exists to create and sustain the privileges which produce economic and social chaos. It is the sole support of the monopolies which concentrate wealth and learning in the hands of a few and disperse poverty and ignorance among the masses to the increase of which inequality the increase of crime is directly proportional. It protects a minority in plundering the majority by methods too subtle to be understood by the victims, and then punishes such unruly members of the majority as an attempt to plunder others by means too simple and straightforward to be recognized by the State as legitimate, crowning its outrages by deluding scholars and philosophers ... into pleading, as an excuse for its infamous existence, the necessity of repressing crime which it steadily creates."

- Benjamin R. Tucker. 1882



tatives," bought and paid for by the powerful, to articulate their desires, can solve the problems that Bush, Gore, and the fat cats who picked them are paid to ignore.

Six myths about American "democracy"

Myth #1: *Exercising his/her right to vote gives the ordinary citizen ultimate control over the political process.*

Fat chance. The propertied elites that control our political institutions have an arsenal of sophisticated techniques for controlling public opinion. We call it manufacturing consent. Its tools include - but are not limited to - advertising, corporate control of major media, and the two-party system. When folks get suspicious and start looking for the truth behind the curtain of obfuscation, they're derided as "conspiracy theorists."

Elections give you the power to choose between two sides of the same coin. They DON'T empower you to change the system, to participate directly in society's decision making process. Political candidates serve up phony agendas for change while taking their marching orders from corporate patrons behind the scenes. They ALL do this: black, white,

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Some of you may be wondering why a bunch of anarchists would grace the Republican and Democratic national conventions with our presence, even as protesters. Aren't we just legitimizing these clownish coronation ceremonies?

The short answer is that we're here to highlight the real issues - the outrages ignored by our two-party system and the tweedle-dee, tweedle-dum candidates it spawns. Like racism, sexism, homophobia, neoliberalism, the prison industrial complex, "welfare reform," the war on drugs, and the death penalty.

But to tell the whole truth, the clownishness has its attractions. Where better than at these overexposed summit meetings of the office holders and their corporate patrons can we spotlight our repressive political system at its most phony and hypocritical - when "the people" choose "their" candidates for the highest political office in the State? No-



mentioned above can be solved within the framework of the State or of the present American political system - not racism, not neoliberalism, not the death penalty. "Reforming" the campaign finance system, passing tougher rules against corporate greedsters, electing Ralph Nader president - none of these changes will salvage a "democratic" system that is run fundamentally for the benefit of a politico-corporate elite of hacks, hucksters and the propertied few. Because this system will never be a democracy.

We're coming to Los Angeles and Philadelphia to voice our demand for what we understand to be the elements of a real democracy: real freedom, real self-determination, and public decision making that involves each and every indi-

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As an alternative, we suggest direct action. Going on strike gives you a real voice. Demonstrating in defiance of police orders gives you a real voice. Working within your community to build cooperative alternatives to society's megalithic political/economic structures gives you an active role in creating a better world. That's not just politics, that's Revolution. As Martha Ackelsberg wrote, "Direct action [means] that the goal of any and all these activities [is] to provide ways for people to get in touch with their own powers and capacities, to take back the power of naming themselves and their lives."

Or, as Gil Scott-Heron rapped, "The Revolution will put you in the driver's seat."

Myth #2: *The state is our friend. It gives us Medicare, Social Security, cheap housing loan - the social safety net.*

extant. It manufactures criminals faster than it punishes them. It exists to create and sustain the privileges which produce economic and social chaos. It is the sole support of the monopolies which concentrate wealth and learning in the hands of a few and disperse poverty and ignorance among the masses to the increase of which inequality the increase of crime is directly proportional. It protects a minority in plundering the majority by methods too subtle to be understood by the victims, and then punishes such unruly members of the majority as an attempt to plunder others by means too simple and straightforward to be recognized by the State as legitimate, crowning its outrages by deluding scholars and philosophers ... into pleading, as an excuse for its infamous existence, the necessity of repressing crime which it steadily creates."

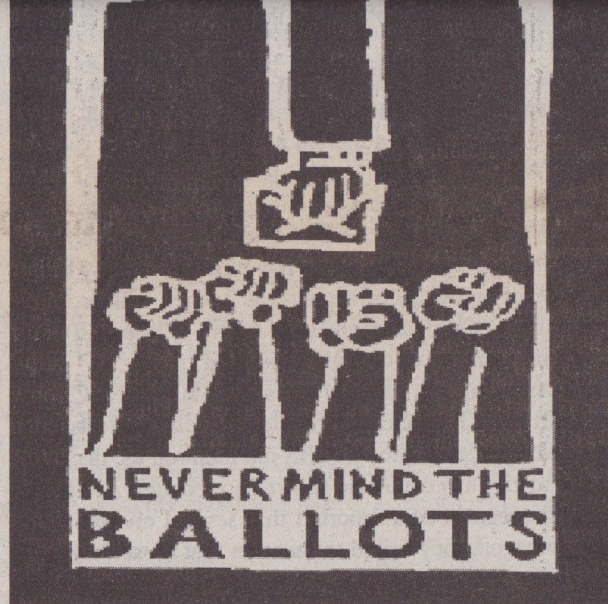
- Benjamin R. Tucker, 1882

Some of you may be wondering why a bunch of anarchists would grace the Republican and Democratic national conventions with our presence, even as protesters. Aren't we just legitimizing these clownish coronation ceremonies?

The short answer is that we're here to highlight the real issues - the outrages ignored by our two-party system and the tweedle-dee, tweedle-dum candidates it spawns. Like racism, sexism, homophobia, neoliberalism, the prison industrial complex, "welfare reform," the war on drugs, and the death penalty.

But to tell the whole truth, the clownishness has its attractions. Where better than at these overexposed summit meetings of the office holders and their corporate patrons can we spotlight our repressive political system at its most phony and hypocritical - when "the people" choose "their" candidates for the highest political office in the State? Nowhere else is the myth of popular representation so clearly revealed than at these huge, hollow exercises in "democracy."

Because the dirty secret is that NONE of the injustices



mentioned above can be solved within the framework of the State or of the present American political system - not racism, not neoliberalism, not the death penalty. "Reforming" the campaign finance system, passing tougher rules against corporate greedsters, electing Ralph Nader president - none of these changes will salvage a "democratic" system that is run fundamentally for the benefit of a politico-corporate elite of hacks, hucksters and the propertied few. Because this system will never be a democracy.

We're coming to Los Angeles and Philadelphia to voice our demand for what we understand to be the elements of a real democracy: real freedom, real self-determination, and public decision making that involves each and every individual and every community, not just a privileged, self-selecting elite. Because only a cooperative society built on mutual aid and the principle of nonhierarchical decision making, where folks don't have to depend on elected "representa-

nary citizen ultimate control over the political process. Fat chance. The propertied elites that control our political institutions have an arsenal of sophisticated techniques for controlling public opinion. We call it manufacturing consent. Its tools include - but are not limited to - advertising, corporate control of major media, and the two-party system. When folks get suspicious and start looking for the truth behind the curtain of obfuscation, they're derided as "conspiracy theorists."

Elections give you the power to choose between two sides of the same coin. They DON'T empower you to change the system, to participate directly in society's decision making process. Political candidates serve up phony agendas for change while taking their marching orders from corporate patrons behind the scenes. They ALL do this: black, white, gay, straight, male, female. To place your trust in the electoral process is to trust a symbol to become a person who identifies with you. It won't happen.

As an alternative, we suggest direct action. Going on strike gives you a real voice. Demonstrating in defiance of police orders gives you a real voice. Working within your community to build cooperative alternatives to society's megalithic political/economic structures gives you an active role in creating a better world. That's not just politics, that's Revolution. As Martha Ackelsberg wrote, "Direct action [means] that the goal of any and all these activities [is] to provide ways for people to get in touch with their own powers and capacities, to take back the power of naming themselves and their lives."

Or, as Gil Scott-Heron rapped, "The Revolution will put you in the driver's seat."

Myth #2: *The state is our friend. It gives us Medicare, Social Security, cheap housing loan - the social safety net. And didn't government give us civil rights?*

These good things came about because millions of people, pushed to the end of their rope by the Great Depres-

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W h o W e A r e

Active Transformation is a direct action anarchist newspaper that has been publishing in whole and in part since 1993. Two separate collectives make up the newspaper collective, one in Detroit and the other in Lansing. We mainly focus on the institutions and social relationships that oppress us in our daily lives. From the prison industrial complex, to homophobia to capitalism - we try

and cover it all. Our struggle for freedom is as diverse as our lives!

If you would like to get a subscription to A.T. write Active Transformation Newspaper at:

PO Box 27164
Lansing, MI 48909-7164

Subs are \$6 a year and free for those in prison. For sample copies please send \$1. And for a bundle of 20 send \$5.

For more info. or comments you may also email us at: activetrans@hotmail.com



What follows is a first hand account of a participant in the actions in Philly against the Republican National Convention....

Monday's event was a march against financial inequality. Marchers were gathered at the base of the city hall building in the center of downtown. There were several helicopters overhead and it was clear that there were more police around than a typical Monday afternoon, but they were not excessively flaunting their numbers (yet).

As we waited to begin, the march's organizers tried frantically to keep people on the side walk and out of the street. People were eager to start marching. We'd been standing on the same corner for quite a while and there was common concern of being surrounded by police before the march was even allowed to begin.

Eventually we were herded into a single-file line. Although it seemed ridiculous to keep a single-file line all through the march, it did accentuate our numbers and make it appear that there were a lot more of us there may have really been.

Although it was difficult to gauge how many people were actually there, my guess would be that we were somewhere near 1,000 strong. The attendants differed in age from tons of very small children wearing butterfly wings, to the very elderly driving along side us in vans, as well as in racial and political backgrounds.

The energy and diversity of the marchers was encouraging and the march offered a peaceful atmosphere. Let-

newspaper boxes, fencing and other useful tools were not cleared from roads or even chained up in most cases. The streets were filled with rush hour traffic as the sky overhead buzzed, thick with helicopters.

The police had a new tactic...arrest EVERYONE. In similar protests prior to this, they had opted just to beat everyone and employ over-use of pepper spray and tear gas. This was quite the opposite. As far as I know, neither tear gas nor pepper spray were used even once. Although they weren't timid about their use of force against individuals in the streets. The plan seemed more to be to arrest everyone and then treat them as they would behind closed doors.

Their new weapons were not modernized pepper spray launchers like LA, but bicycles. They roamed the streets in squads of about fifteen

waiting to see something going down or waiting to be called to an area. If it was just a few individuals that they were after, they would ram them, full speed, causing their victims to fly forward onto the pavement.

If it was a larger group that they were after, the tactic was to surround them, and by overlapping the bike tires, they would form a makeshift fence around the group.

If the target was a larger crowd still, cops would ride right into the middle of the group and divide the crowd by forming a blockade, by again overlapping the tires.

The use of bikes made them just as mobile as us and enabled them to chase (and arrest) many more people than in previous events. Using bikes against us proved to be very effective, but this is not to say that nothing was accomplished on Tuesday.

Because the grid spanned over such a wide area of the city, it was impossible to get any impression of our numbers. I also had no idea that all at once, there was ruckus taking place all across the city. Roads throughout Philly were blockaded with fencing, dumpsters, bodies, piano wire, and even an anarchist soccer game went on in the middle of Philadelphia's main road, just a few blocks from city hall. A section of highway downtown was flooded with protesters causing a complete standstill of traffic. Close to 20 cop cars were damaged or outright destroyed.

On Tuesday night's national news, out of CBS, NBC, and ABC, all but CBS failed to mention that the protests had even taken place. Although CBS did mention us, they ne-

Wednesday night, while we were trying to free jailed comrades, there was a "street party" held for republicans only. The city had blocked off all of the streets surrounding the local community's street market. The purpose of the event was to let the republicans feeling like they were really within the local neighborhoods, except for the fact, that the local community was not allowed anywhere near it.

Streets were barricaded for blocks in every direction and there were cops standing guard to keep pedestrians out (out of their own streets, in their own neighborhood). It was truly sick.

While this was going on, protesters constructed a tent city outside of the roundhouse (where most of the prisoners were being held). There were approximately 150 people gathered in the park across the street from the jail.

There were tents arranged in a crescent around an impressive drum circle that lasted all through the night. Banners were hung from trees all over the site demanding the release of the "puppetistas" and the like.

Protesters reported their houses being staked out, un-uniformed individuals in unmarked vans working on wires outside their homes, and on too many occasions to count comrades were followed all across the city by police.

By midnight there was a light drizzle, but it was a welcome relief after days of scorching heat. Around 12:30 the sky broke open with torrential rains and furious winds. Tents blew across the park and people scurried to hang up tarps to gather under. Most of the tarps were tattered with gaping holes letting in streams of water. Despite all that was against us, everyone remained in good spirits and stayed at the city well into the next day.

We took one hour shifts, standing in pairs, next to each entrance of the Roundhouse, to direct anyone that was released to the tent city and to observe the police.

Over the course of the night several groups of 4 or 5 people were released. They came out telling horrific stories. Many people had been badly beaten. Many of our boys had been hog-tied naked and dragged through the jails. They had been denied food, water, and bathrooms and many were being denied crucial medications.

There were lots of people being held inside who were not even connected with the protests. Individuals out on a smoke break from work and stepped onto the streets and instantly been arrested. People on their way to meet friends or to find some lunch had been abducted.

One of the boys released had been taking pictures inde-

been standing on the same corner for quite a while and there was common concern of being surrounded by police before the march was even allowed to begin.

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The energy and diversity of the marchers was encouraging and the march offered a peaceful atmosphere, letting people get involved who may not have been able to participate in actions in the days to come.

After the march we found housing with 40 or so other anarchists and that night held meetings. Although we had not, other people at the house had attended spokes council meetings that day and reported back to the house.

Like Seattle, a grid of the city had been made up. Each section of the grid contained one key point (i.e. George W.'s hotel, the main road leading to the convention center, etc.). Like the spokes council, only two representatives from each affinity group were present at our meetings. All of the affinity groups within the house would make up one cluster.

Our cluster agreed to all focus on only one division of the grid, but each affinity group would be responsible for planning their own independent actions within that area and, for security reasons, these plans would not be communicated with any other affinities within the cluster (or otherwise). Affinities were to arrive separately and be within eyesight of one building at a certain time and then one by one initiate whatever action they had planned.

Although planning had been thorough, we had not known what to expect and were not prepared for the scene downtown. Unlike the day before, the police were out in full force. Their tactics here were unlike those used in Seattle, DC, Detroit/Windsor, or even LA.

First, unlike the other cities, no attempt was made by Philadelphia to shut down the city prior to the arrival of the protesters. Not only police and reporters cluttered the sidewalks this time, but overwhelming numbers of pedestrians bustled back and forth going about their usual business. Dumpsters, street signs, trash cans,

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On Tuesday night's national news, out of CBS, NBC, and ABC, all but CBS failed to mention that the protests had even taken place. Although CBS did mention us, they neglected to give any detail and showed no footage. Although the mainstream media reported that several civilian cars were damaged, they failed to mention that those "civilian cars" were limousines. No where was it mentioned that hundreds and hundreds of people had taken over the city or that the police had arrested almost 500 of them.

By Tuesday night many tured. Protesters were held in many different jails all across the city making it difficult to track anyone down. Some people were even taken to Holmesberg Prison despite the fact that it was condemned years ago.

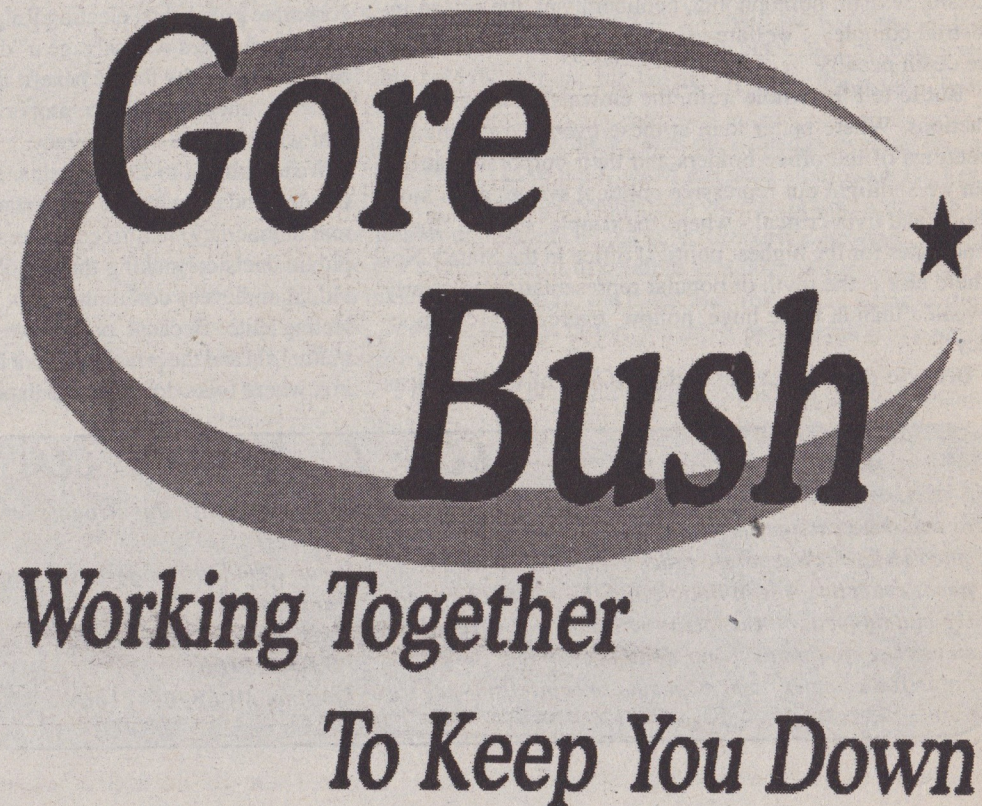
Holmesberg can only be compared to an old castle. Having been built in the 1800's; it still had only outhouses and offered no running water. Prisoners from inside later reported that the ceilings were caving in letting in black soot. Inside, an officer admitted to one of our lawyers that the makeshift plumbing that was available inside, still did not provide water suitable for drinking.

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Over the course of the night several groups of 4 or 5 people were released. They came out telling horrific stories. Many people had been badly beaten. Many of our boys had been hog-tied naked and dragged through the jails. They had been denied food, water, and bathrooms and many were being denied crucial medications.

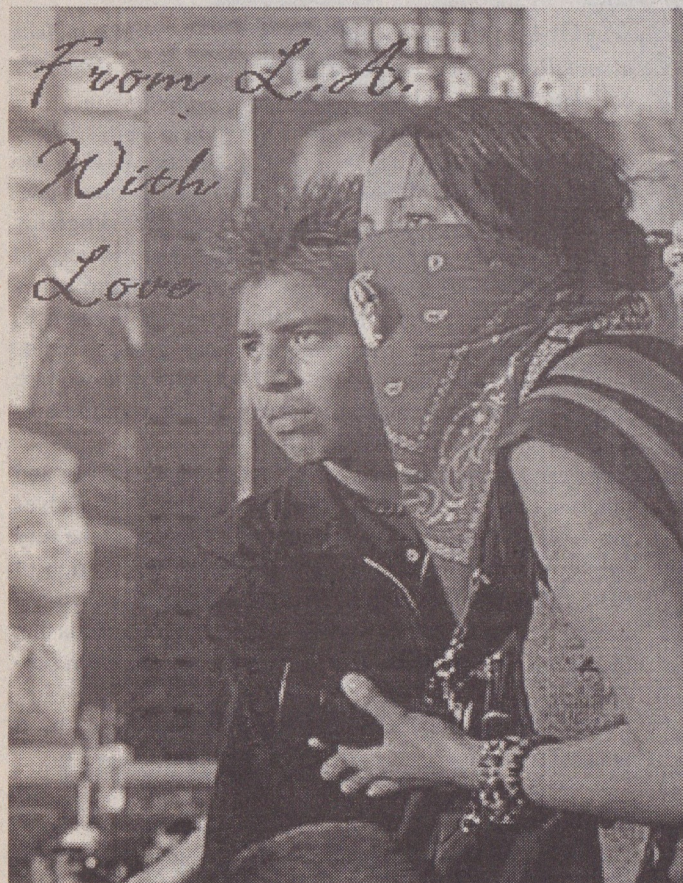
There were lots of people being held inside who were not even connected with the protests. Individuals out on a smoke break from work and stepped onto the streets and instantly been arrested. People on their way to meet friends or to find some lunch had been abducted.

One of the boys released had been taking pictures independently, when his camera was snatched up and stomped on by police and he was arrested. The bonds of people inside ranged from \$15,000 all the way to million dollar bonds. There was even a story of a man taken from his cell for finger printing, who was hog-tied naked and returned badly beaten with his ear partially severed.



Gore
Bush

Working Together
To Keep You Down



I recently traveled to Los Angeles for the North American Anarchist Conference (NAAC) and Democratic National Convention (DNC). The NAAC was held August 11th through the 13th, while the DNC was the 14th through the 17th. Both events had an extremely strong anarchist presence. In my eyes, the NAAC was a major success. I was one of the first people to arrive, and I was energized by the numbers of people constantly outside the front doors waiting to sign in. All in all, over 500 people attended, but they were not all there at once. Many people were only at the conference for a day or so, or spent a lot of time at the events at the Direct Action Network's convergence center, so it seemed like it was smaller because there were only 100 to 200 people at the conference at any given time.

The NAAC was held in a fairly large warehouse previously used for raves. There was a large room, small room,

destruction, activists from DAN center insisted that the anarchists from NAAC were representatives of the black bloc (even though they were in plain clothes and clearly NOT representing the black bloc or any affiliation with the black bloc), then singled the anarchists out to ask them their feelings about property destruction, and black bloc tactics.

Throughout the entire week, DAN made it clear that they did not support property destruction in any way, and some members were persistent in saying that property destruction would not be welcomed at their permitted marches.

Many pacifists from the DAN center came to a "Pacifism as Pathology" workshop at the NAAC space. Here, once again, a workshop that was centered around a well-written essay about pacifism as a strategy and tactic got turned into a heated debate about property destruction. People who didn't even read the essay rushed to put their two cents in about the never ending property destruction "discussion" (I phrased this way because the whole façade of it was that it was not a discussion at all, just arguments about whether or not property destruction is justified), and the workshop got completely turned around, and the entire focus was once again, geared away from revolutionary politics and turned into a finger pointing debate.

I unfortunately did not attend the rest of the workshops scheduled on the last day because I was so disappointed with how this workshop and other workshops had to end. I wanted to go the NAAC to learn things and meet new comrades, and by the last day, I felt like it just wasn't going to happen inside the workshops. Conversations and debates turned from being constructive to arguments often not even directly involved with the topic. This does not mean that I lost all hope in the event, because I spent the rest of the last day of the conference hanging out and talking with members of The August Collective and other anarchists, and had a really good time and a refreshing break from all the arguing.

MONDAY AT THE DNC (A MOMENT OF FREEDOM)

The UWA march on Monday afternoon kicked off a week of resistance against the political system and state in general during the DNC protests in LA. The march began in Pershing Square, and ended in front of the Staples Center just in time for Rage Against the Machine to begin playing.

protest pit by riot cops on one side, and cops on horses on the other. They were shot with rubber bullets, and some were severely beaten. A total of ten arrests were made.

By nightfall, thousands of people made it out of the protest area safely and filled the streets of downtown Los Angeles which were reopened for traffic. There were little police and media present, which turned out to be beneficial for the mass. People were free of police constraints and didn't have to worry about being videotaped for the whole world to see.

It was amazing, and inspirational, even though it only lasted for a few hours. People were kept together by a large drum circle which gave the night an atmosphere of a big street party. People of all kinds were in the streets chanting, dancing, having fun, partying, and blocking traffic. Community members of all ages far outnumbered protesters. I could tell that the people of LA were into the idea of freedom in the streets. During the ruckus, street fires were set, and some vandals broke windows at the Bank of America. Overall, the people of LA made a clear statement to those in power that these streets were reclaimed as truly, the people's streets, only if it was for a short period of time, and even if their story wasn't blasted all over the national and even local media. This night was clearly a MAJOR SUCCESS! It energized people, and gave them a strong sense of togetherness with not only protesters, but also with the people in L.A. It fueled protesters and gave them the energy boost they needed for the rest of the week's resistance.

TUES-THURSDAY DNC PROTESTS

Police arrests plagued marches on Tuesday. 46 people were arrested and charged with conspiring to commit felonies for chanting and rattling doors outside two different fur stores. There were also 71 arrests at the permitted critical mass bike ride after police escorted the bicyclists the wrong way down a one-way street. Their bikes were immediately impounded, and the cyclists were jailed.

Downtown Los Angeles turned into a total and complete police state on Wednesday. Over 7,000 police lined the streets for the police brutality march (isn't that ironic). Most were in riot gear while others rode motorcycles, horses, and Smith and Wesson bicycles. There were also nine helicopters flying over the city during the protests,

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The NAAC was held in a fairly large warehouse previously used for raves. There was a large room, small room, loft, and outside patio. This was where all the workshops were being held; also being the only places for people to sleep, eat, and converse. We were in a rough neighborhood, so people were encouraged to stay on the property. By being so close together, it brought us a close sense of camaraderie. I met and became friends quickly with people from all over the U.S., and there were even a few people there from different countries. Everybody being cramped into a poorly ventilated warehouse for days with scorching heat both inside and out eventually took its toll on people. By the third day, the conditions were pretty gruesome..

I woke up on Sunday to see a side alley reeking of vomit, and people running to the outside toilets (some of them not making it in time). It was like a bad afterschool special. Apparently, the food from dinner the night before may have been contaminated, which made for an interesting situation. I was disappointed to see that many of the workshops scheduled were cancelled, but made due with the ones that were still being offered. Workshops ranged from information about Columbia, the EZLN, Green Anarchy, security culture, black bloc, and copwatch. There was also a panel discussion and a vision discussion which generated many good ideas, but were hard to facilitate because so many people were participating and talking about totally different topics.

Two issues would not seem to die during discussions, which made debates tedious. There was a constant war between syndicalists and primitivists over strategies of the movement which stemmed from different viewpoints and theories about society. Most of these discussions were done in a somewhat productive manner, so it was more of a constructive debate.

The other issue, the topic of property destruction, never died. There were two meetings at the DAN convergence center focusing on this topic. At one meeting about property

like it just wasn't going to happen inside the workshops. Conversations and debates turned from being constructive to arguments often not even directly involved with the topic. This does not mean that I lost all hope in the event, because I spent the rest of the last day of the conference hanging out and talking with members of The August Collective and other anarchists, and had a really good time and a refreshing break from all the arguing.

MONDAY AT THE DNC (A MOMENT OF FREEDOM)

The UWA march on Monday afternoon kicked off a week of resistance against the political system and state in general during the DNC protests in LA. The march began in Pershing Square, and ended in front of the Staples Center just in time for Rage Against the Machine to begin playing. The rally attracted well over 10,000 people, with a strong community presence at both the march, and during the Rage show.

Rage played a terrible set, not even talking to their crowd between songs. It was almost like they pacified the masses from direct action. As thousands of people turned to face the Staples Center to flip off the people inside chanting along with Rage, "Fuck you, I won't do what you tell me," the black bloc was putting words into action.

The Ruckus started with the black bloc throwing empty water bottles over an at least 15 foot fence hitting riot cops stationed in the street between the black bloc and the Staples Center. Police repeatedly fired pepper spray at the black bloc, which was not backing down. They then ripped out street signs, smashed them on the sidewalk, and hurled concrete chunks at police.

Police responded with a round of rubber bullets, and more pepper spray, but the black bloc was not intimidated. Two anarchists then climbed to the top of the riot fence and waved black flags. They too are pepper sprayed, but refuse to move. The masses of people were torn between seeing Rage Against the Machine, which was still on the main stage nearing the end of their five song set, and becoming part of the ruckus initiated by their comrades.

Ozomotley next took the stage and urged protesters to stop fighting with the cops, smoke herb, listen to their set, and forget about the war with police that was beginning to wage. This plea was not successful.

The Police Commissioner quickly cut the power to the main stage, and told everyone that they had 15 minutes to exit the area. Hysteria immediately hit the crowd, and people weren't sure what to do. People feared leaving and being picked off by cops, or staying, and being beat up. The majority of people left in one extremely large mass to prevent arrests. Those who did not exit in time were cornered in the

Police arrests plagued marches on Tuesday. 46 people were arrested and charged with conspiring to commit felonies for chanting and rattling doors outside two different fur stores. There were also 71 arrests at the permitted critical mass bike ride after police escorted the bicyclists the wrong way down a one-way street. Their bikes were immediately impounded, and the cyclists were jailed.

Downtown Los Angeles turned into a total and complete police state on Wednesday. Over 7,000 police lined the streets for the police brutality march (isn't that ironic). Most were in riot gear while others rode motorcycles, horses, and Smith and Wesson bicycles. There were also nine helicopters flying over the city during the protests, three of which were directly over the Staples Center filming protesters.

The police ended up blocking off all streets surrounding the Staples Center, and trapping thousands of activists in the protest pit for over 40 minutes. Here, they once again pepper sprayed crowds and shot rubber bullets at protesters two yards away. The cops eventually allowed the mass to disperse, and did not arrest anyone. The DAN convergence space was also raided on Wednesday. Police surrounded the building, and planted snipers on the roof. No arrests were made.

Thursday saw a rather large march in honor of all the people who have lost their lives crossing the U.S.- Mexico border. The march ended in the protest pit, where an organizer from the DAN convergence center announced to a crowd of over 5,000 people that they initiated a "community" meeting, (without consulting or inviting members of the black bloc) and the members of the "community" decided that anyone doing direct action would be ostracized from the "community" because property destruction would not be allowed.

Besides being counterrevolutionary, this announcement tore down the morale of the black bloc. They thought that protesters from the DAN center were on the same side that they were on, when in actuality, they weren't at all.

Later there was a candlelight vigil, and a permitted march to the jail where fellow comrades were being held. Outside the jail, police cornered thousands of protesters, and after negotiations, eventually let the crowd disperse.

POLICE TACTICS

Police tactics in L.A. and Philadelphia greatly differed.

Continued on next page

Continued from front

sion and centuries of oppression, demanded them. The U.S. government only began to embrace social welfare - in the form of Social Security, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, cheap housing loans and other such benefits - when it appeared that the alternative was revolution.

The Cold War soon followed, creating a new rivalry between the U.S. and another political system that promised better living - and greater equality: Soviet Communism. So the benefits kept on coming for a few more years: the G.I. bill, Medicare, disability insurance, the civil rights laws.

But today, the Soviet threat is no more. America is the only remaining superpower. And our elite proclaims the "end of history," with market capitalism the only remaining legitimate ideology. So the same elite that put the social safety net in place is now busy dismantling it. Disability has been gutted; AFDC has been gutted. Social Security and Medicare are next.

Anarchists and labor leftists in the 1930s warned the workers against depending on the state to provide benefits the workers should be providing for themselves, because one day the state will decide to go back on its promises.

They were right. To depend on government to nurture a more equal society is to set yourself up for betrayal.

Myth #3: *Capitalists love small government. The present system keeps them under control.*

Capitalists LOVE big government! Let's put this in perspective: Corporations, like the State, are legal entities whose charters are written by powerful people. These people's interests are to keep their kind in power.

Large corporations couldn't exist without large expenditures, subsidies and tax breaks on research and development - courtesy of the State. Corporations couldn't crack open new markets in the developing world without the muscle supplied by the Office of the US Trade Representative. Corporations couldn't act with impunity against their employees and anyone else who attempts to hinder their progress without compliant judges, bureaucrats and politicians. In fact, corporations would never have grown into the monoliths they now are without the vast edifice of legal protections that their cronies in Congress and the states have built up over

Myth #4: *The state protects us against violence and vigilantism. Wouldn't gun control and international peacekeeping be impossible without the rule of law?*

The State is a hardened, compulsive, habitual killer! The legal codes of the U.S. and the various states sanction and institutionalize the death penalty. The U.S. military, in its various roles, has spread death and desolation in developing countries all over the world (think Vietnam, Iraq, Yugoslavia), and has allied itself with tyrants and thugs who promote America's agenda through violence. Worst of all, it was State policy that commanded the creation of nuclear weapons - the greatest instruments of mass destruction of all time.

Whatever feeble efforts the U.S. government may make in the direction of controlling small, personal firearms can't begin to make up for the actual and potential damage its own policies and methods of violence have perpetrated.

There's only one way to disarm the killers: Abolish the State.

Myth #5: *The US Constitution is one of the great milestones for personal freedom. The Bill of Rights protects us from tyranny.*

Tell that to death row denizens who have had their right of habeas corpus effectively taken away. Tell that to union members whose right to organize has been steadily eroded. Tell that to people of color whose rights are supposedly protected by the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. Tell that to women who have been trying in vain to pass an Equal Rights Amendment for almost 100 years. Tell that to protesters in Seattle, Washington, DC, and innumerable other places who have been gassed, clubbed, denied their right to peaceful assembly, and held illegally in overcrowded jails. Tell that to homosexuals who, for no legal reason, have been consistently treated as less than full citizens by the military and other State institutions.

Shall we go on?

Bottom line: the State's so-called legal protections apply only to the powerful. Not to you.

Myth #6: *"Democracy is the worst system of government ever created -except for all the others." -Winston Churchill*

Churchill got it wrong. Folks have been organizing themselves successfully into nonhierarchical, self-directed communities for hundreds of years. Examples include pirate republics in the Caribbean during the 18th and 19th centuries, Ukrainian peasants during the Russian Revolution, the

from other, oppressed groups and therefore had to be put down - by the State.

Myth #7: *Everything would be OK if we could just elect a socialist or social democratic party to power. Then we could have a humanistic system of government.*

The common denominator of all socialist or social democratic parties - from New Deal Democrats in the U.S. at the most moderate end to the European Social Democratic parties with their cradle-to-the-grave public welfare programs - is that they pin their hopes for creating a better society on the State. Yet every regime that can vaguely be described as social democratic - from New Deal Democrats in the U.S. at the most moderate end to the European Social Democratic parties with their cradle-to-the-grave public welfare programs - has systematically betrayed their commitments to the people over the past decade.

They have privatized industries, cut pension benefits, and otherwise torn up the social safety net that they themselves put in place. Why? To stay "competitive." To attract the very corporate investors who are promoting the destruction of State-run welfare in the U.S. To attract donations from those investors. To put in place a neoliberal, free-trade agenda that the people had no place in creating and no interest in supporting.

Socialism that depends on government - on the State - is not real socialism.

What next?

R2K/D2K are our chance to let the whole country know that the State isn't the answer. That the State has failed the people. That it's time for us to build a better society without the State.

The next step is for us to return to our communities and continue our struggle against the instruments of the State - the military and prison industrial complexes, the machinery of the death penalty, the legalized bandits known as corporations, the secret institutions (CIA, FBI) that exercise a hidden tyranny over us, and the unjust laws that perpetuate poverty and inequality. Don't vote - ACT! Work within your community to directly demand an end to these institutions, and to create cooperative mechanisms to carry on the positive work of society.

As anarchists, we believe that only a cooperative society based on mutual aid will allow each and every one of us to live in abundance and harmony, to express our desires freely, and to create a community that saves the earth rather than

perspective: Corporations, like the State, are legal entities whose charters are written by powerful people. These people's interests are to keep their kind in power. Large corporations couldn't exist without large expenditures, subsidies and tax breaks on research and development - courtesy of the State. Corporations couldn't crack open new markets in the developing world without the muscle supplied by the Office of the US Trade Representative. Corporations couldn't act with impunity against their employees and anyone else who attempts to hinder their progress without compliant judges, bureaucrats and politicians. In fact, corporations would never have grown into the monoliths they now are without the vast edifice of legal protections that their cronies in Congress and the states have built up over the last hundred years.

The State created this monster. Don't look to the State to dismantle it.

to homosexuals who, for no legal reason, have been consistently treated as less than full citizens by the military and other State institutions.

Shall we go on?

Bottom line: the State's so-called legal protections apply only to the powerful. Not to you.

Myth #6: *"Democracy is the worst system of government ever created -except for all the others."* -Winston Churchill

Churchill got it wrong. Folks have been organizing themselves successfully into nonhierarchical, self-directed communities for hundreds of years. Examples include pirate republics in the Caribbean during the 18th and 19th centuries, Ukrainian peasants during the Russian Revolution, the peasants of Andalusia and the working class population of Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War. These were not just failed experiments. They were vital, functioning societies based on principles of equality, that were attracting recruits

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As anarchists, we believe that only a cooperative society based on mutual aid will allow each and every one of us to live in abundance and harmony, to express our desires freely, and to create a community that saves the earth rather than destroying it. We can start to achieve these goals now, through direct action. But until we smash the State, we will only have made a beginning.

L.A. Continued

Police never arrested a large mass of people in L.A. like they did in Philly. Arrests were made at relatively small marches that had little confrontations with police. Jail solidarity in L.A. worked as the protesters were released a week later with their charges dropped, which, unfortunately, was not the case in Philly.

It was obvious that the Los Angeles Police Department wanted to make their authority felt on the masses without really making mass arrests. They thought that intimidation would be a better tool for controlling protesters.

They really wanted to ensure a low-key atmosphere even though the downtown was turned into a total police state because they feared that the entire area would burst in riots. There were several undercover officers in the crowds, especially on Monday night. They were fairly easy to point out because they had bullet proof vests on under their polo shirts.

All of the police in the city seemed to be stationed at the downtown during the protests. If people really wanted to be effective, they could have went to other parts of the city (Hollywood, Beverly Hills, etc) to demonstrate instead of having every single march end up in the protest pit.

Police also revamped the downtown area. They had police working on the situation as early as 1998. They spent over 8 million dollars on paid overtime for the officers, and also spent money cutting down hundreds of trees in the downtown area, and replacing them with a large fenced in protest pit directly in front of the Staples Center.

BLACK BLOC CRITIQUE

Even with a police presence as big as the force in Los Angeles, a black bloc can be successful. The black bloc on Monday night did an excellent job not only keeping the crowd together, but also keeping a focus on things as the ruckus was happening. Members of the black bloc coached community members about strategies like staying with the mass of people, and covering their faces in case of tear gas.

Unfortunately, Monday was the only day that the black bloc, or any of the massive marches was successful. For example, on Wednesday during the police brutality demo, the black bloc (which was not the same people from Monday night) rushed to lead the march into the protest pit. The police marched between the black bloc once they were in the protest pit, and not only held them in the pit, but also split the black bloc in two, so they really couldn't be effective.

Another example of poor black bloc planning was on Thursday evening during the march to the jail. The black bloc ran to the front of the mass of thousands of people. Here they were singled out by the police because they were right out in the open, with virtually no other protesters around them. Of course, no property destruction could ever take place, because the black bloc seemed to be more of a fashion show on these days. Instead of being in the middle of the march, the black bloc insisted in being at the forefront. It would not slow down for the rest of the marchers, and overall had poor strategies, especially with security.

It seems to me to have a successful black bloc, participants must communicate with other protesters and community members (a thing that only happened on Monday night). On Monday, the black bloc ignited the minds of everyone at the demo (many of which were people who solely came out to see Rage Against the Machine), and united them together with a common cause while on the other days, the black bloc was a major part of why people were being separated and bickering. In these cases the people were not successful, and the police had the upper hand of the situation in every aspect.

The black bloc let opportunities for uniting people slip through their fingers as they rushed to lead the marches, and as a result, the marches failed, and thousands of people were almost arrested in several instances. We must learn from both the victories and mistakes of not only the demos in LA but also the black bloc and its strategies in order to be successful in the future.

The Ludic Path to Utopia

Utopian Prospects, Communal Projects: Visionary Experiments in Literature and Everyday Life, Andy Sunfrog Smith, self-published, 2000, 65 pages, \$12. Available from the author, post paid, at 1467 Pumpkin Hollow Rd. Liberty TN 37095

by Ron Sokolsky

As the late Middle Western novelist, Meridel Le Sueur, once advised her younger anarchist biographer Neala Schleuning in relation to a question about her philosophy, "That's the problem with you intellectuals. You constantly want to analyze. Life's not like that. I'm not like that. Writing isn't like that. Not real writing. You have to be in a wholly different place. Get rid of those dead, lifeless forms! How do they teach you to write? Beginning, middle, end? That's not life. And that's not writing."

As the illusions of objective scholarly research fell away at Meridel's prodding, Schleuning's approach was liberated from the weight of academic posturing, and the insightful nature of her understanding of the subject of her thesis was heightened accordingly.

Anarchist Communalism

Taking a similar tack in his recent book project, *Utopian Prospects, Communal Projects*, Andy Sunfrog Smith consciously does not seek scholarly distance from communal life. As he puts it, "While scholars who do not participate in the 'lifestyle' of radical activism and anarchist communalism write about utopias with a critical distance I cannot share, my ability to convincingly synthesize theory, literature, and everyday life is increased by my intimacy and my unique perspective on the material." He is a proud member of the Pump-

kin Collective, a group that has a deep awareness that utopia, like life, is a process not a thing, and that the personal cannot be artificially divorced from the political.

For several years now, Sunfrog has been both a participant in this communal endeavor in rural Tennessee and a Master's student in English at Middle Tennessee State University. This book grew out of his final thesis. Yet he states that it is not a final product, but a work in progress. During the course of writing it, he immersed himself in both his immediate communal surroundings and in reading utopian novels set elsewhere. This deliberate combination gave him an opportunity to ponder his own utopian vision in the context of active communal participation rather than the dryly-detached participant observation of the visiting anthropologist. Such an engaged scholarship is precisely what makes his book so exciting.

Politics of Desire

Moreover, the novels he read during the course of his research inform his own very real personal journey in utopia as an anarchist political activist. While Andy is thankfully not an academic utopian, his work will be of interest not only to anarchists and communards, but to those scholars of utopia whose radicalism is not limited to attending the annual meeting of the Society for Utopian Studies. Beyond those categories, Andy's book is for everyone who knows that writing on utopia must be sensual and adventurous rather than coldly objective or it betrays utopia's own origins in the politics of desire.

The novels which he chooses to write about feature "ambiguous and critical utopias" rather than the smiley-faced cardboard cut-out facades of a stage set for utopia that are all too simplistic in their conceptual blueprinting. Such a choice on his part adds to our understanding of the complexity of the utopian project. For example, the fact that Starhawk's *The Fifth Sacred Thing* has distinctly dystopian elements which must constantly be overcome provides the kind of dramatic tension that a contemporary utopian novel demands. Yet, in spite of the underground popularity of her novel, and hence its widespread impact on not only how we see utopia but on how we see ourselves as utopians involved in political activism, Starhawk's book continues to be largely ignored by the academy.

While Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* is dissected over and over again by contemporary academics

pointed out, Seattle's Festival of Resistance to the W.T.O. in 1999 marked a turning point in radical activism and a resurgence of American anarchism. Following this train of thought, even the official date for the beginning of the twenty-first century has been posited not as January 1, 2000, but as N30.

Arguably, the Direct Action Network was likely influenced to some degree by *The Fifth Sacred Thing* in their spirited oppositional stance, and their choice of nonviolent direct action tactics that mirror those from the book. Even ongoing activist controversies over strategic violence and property destruction appear as part of the novel's plot as they did in the streets of Seattle.

Furthermore, Starhawk, herself an anarchist, was a participant in both the Battle of Seattle and the subsequent A16 action against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in D.C., and has written about that experience in the anarchist press. Yet no one so far seems to have publicly connected the ideas in her book to these events. Whether or not the book was a harbinger for the Seattle events to come, it certainly offers food for thought to those who take the potential transformative power of the utopian vision seriously.

Building on the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin and Hakim Bey, Sunfrog understands the Festival as a temporary manifestation of utopia. In a pointed response to Rosabeth Moss Kanter's dreary exercise in academic miserabilism (as evidenced in her standard text in communal living, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective*), Sunfrog urges us to instead choose the ludic path to utopia. The book itself is a jubilant welcome to his passionate erotic quest. While not neglecting the imaginative radiance of the mind, to its credit, *Utopian Prospects, Communal Projects* refuses the academic straight jacket. Instead it embraces the spontaneous conviviality of Carnival as an inspirational model for both creating electrifying oppositional actions and the building of vibrant alternative communities.

Fools Paradise Summer 2000

Ron Sokolsky first met Sunfrog in the magical environs of Dreamtime Village in ungloriated rural Wisconsin. He is the co-editor of three books: *Gone To Croatan: Origins of Drop-Out Culture in North America* (with James Koehnline), *Sounding Off!: Music As Subversion/Resistance/Revolution* (with Fred Ho), and *Seizing The Air-*

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sexual and adventurous rather than coldly objective or it betrays utopia's own origins in the politics of desire.

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While Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* is dissected over and over again by contemporary academics, and homage paid to its turn of the century (1888) popularity, *The Fifth Sacred Thing*, likewise a turn of the century (1993) cult classic, has been sadly neglected. Recent developments, however, urge us to reexamine the ripple effect which the book's ideas have had on society at large as we enter the new century. As many astute pundits have

chosen the facile path to utopia. The book itself is a joyous welcome to his passionate erotic quest. While not neglecting the imaginative radiance of the mind, to its credit, *Utopian Prospects, Communal Projects* refuses the academic straight jacket. Instead it embraces the spontaneous conviviality of Carnival as an inspirational model for both creating electrifying oppositional actions and the building of vibrant alternative communities.

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much as it heralded an invocation of and invitation to indulgence in primordial impulses and intense pleasures with a variety of partners. If the practice of erotic openness does not include clear negotiation, consent, and an explicit critique of male-female power relationships in a sexist society, free love can further victimize rather than liberate women.

However, this is not a failure of the philosophy of free love as much as it is a testimonial to the fact that widespread socialization into traditional gender roles and puritanical sexual repression cannot be entirely overcome without radically restructuring society. An overt refusal or unintentional inability by both men and women to maintain the historical connection between free love and feminism during the sexual revolution may be responsible, in part, for the feminist backlash against sexual freedom that took hold in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Addressing this backlash in "Among Us, Against Us: Right Wing Feminism" in her book, *Public Sex*, Pat Califia chronicles the propaganda and political goals of the feminist anti-pornography movement spearheaded by Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon. While Dworkin and

MacKinnon focus their crusades on a particular issue, their rhetoric typifies all-encompassing erotophobic values that gained popularity among feminists during the Reagan years.

Califia's vigorous criticism attacks this new feminist morality on many fronts, but most importantly, she insists that anti-sex feminism is reactionary and counterrevolutionary because it reinscribes a Victorian ideal that "women need to be protected from sex" to avoid "being degraded and victimized by out-of-control men" and it lends itself to co-optation by "powerful segments of our society to create a sex-negative climate that will facilitate the suppression of all forms of sexual dissent."

Far from a problem with the philosophy of feminism and gender equality, the new prudery is merely an odd manifestation of patriarchal repression clothed in feminist rhetoric. And, far from condemning the free consensual choices of any woman, sex-radical feminists merely seek to honor free erotic desire as part of their social liberation without the threat of legal and moral persecution from politicians, preachers, and, unfortunately, some feminists.

As contemporary sex-positive feminists reclaim femi-

nism and desire from the dire Puritanism of the new Victorians and erotophobic sex police, the utopian voices of a small yet eclectic, eccentric, and egalitarian free love movement remain vibrant, promising a panoply of possible alternatives for people of all genders and sexual orientations.

The Erotic Universe: Sacred Sex & Polysexuality

In the era of identity politics, labeling oneself can be an art form. In this age of diversity, it can be a way of honoring differences or dividing people into antagonistic cliques and special interest groups. When I choose to call myself a polysexual—or a pagan or an anarchist—I am participating in the labeling game of identity politics at the same time I am trying to move beyond it. To employ the term polysexual—which may appear exotic or vague—is to insist that my sexuality cannot be encompassed by the existing terms in our limited lexicon of libidinal labels. More than another sexual orientation, polysexuality sug-

Continued on next page

advocated a philosophy of free love and even attempted to institutionalize its practice. By looking briefly at some of these examples, we can see how the idea of free love was tested in large, idealistic, communal utopias. These historical examples demonstrate the need for freedom, flexibility, and forgiveness in the practice of free love more than the desirability of one model over another.

This segment of my research revolves around the historical literature about four distinct communal experiments: Oneida, founded by John Humphery Noyes in New York state in 1848; Kerista, founded in 1971 in San Francisco; Modern Times, founded by Stephen Pearl Andrews and Josiah Warren in 1851 in what is now Brentwood, New Jersey; and, Home, founded by three families on Puget Sound in Washington state in 1896. These four groups can be separated into two distinct models for free love in community.

Oneida and Kerista attempted to implement clearly organized, complex systems for love in utopia while Modern Times and Home promoted free love as an ideal without institutionalizing it as a practice. Although each of these groups deserves much further attention, this cursory survey should illustrate some important points about the practice of free love in a communal setting.

Both the Oneidans and Keristans attempted to implement a structured context for multi-partner relationships, practiced group therapy techniques of mutual criticism for maintaining a common identity and social control, followed an outspoken leader, and pooled labor and resources communally. At Modern Times as well as at Home, members tempered the communal urge with a strong libertarian spirit, worked independently in a variety of fields, vigorously published radical theories, and lived, as much as possible, according to their individual desires. While both Modern Times and Home clearly had founders and outspoken members, both groups espoused anarchist ideals and neither community expected its members to conform to the wishes of a leader or the ideology of the entire group.

Because unconventional, erotic arrangements were part of the official program, we can learn more about the actual sexual practices at Oneida and Kerista. For the anarchists, free love constituted a theory intended to emancipate women from the patriarchy and liberate lovers from the dictates of the state. While I imagine that some of these anarchist colonists led animated and light-hearted love lives that would startle even contemporary sensibilities, the literature on Home and Modern Times down plays the actual *love* part of free love. Just as the available sources avoid any prurient details about Modern Times and Home, many contemporary anarchist collectives practice polyamory without honoring their own

tion in complex marriage was required of all adult members, because young adults could not choose their first sexual partners but were initiated by older members of the community, because the community leadership decided who could and could not have children, free love at Oneida was not particularly free. Beyond their obvious faults, Noyes and the Oneidans impressed American reformers with the importance of a communal economy and the practice of erotic camaraderie.

Almost a century after the collapse of Oneida's complex marriage, a

In the end, a strong leader and elements of social control severed the tribal bonds and overshadowed the liberating aspects of polyamory. One shortcoming with highly-structured group marriages and erotic communes is the failure to acknowledge more fully the inherently unstructured impulses of human desire. While free love can liberate people from the limits of monogamy, the legacy of Oneida and Kerista shows that authoritarian enforcement of free love in a utopian commune can be as repressive as an unhealthy marriage in the mainstream world.

In contrast, the history of Modern Times and Home gives a dramatically different picture of free love in America. The secular, nineteenth-century anarchist movement for free love crystallized at Modern Times. These American free-lovers drank liberally from the eccentric brew of utopian philosophy proposed by French philosopher Charles Fourier. While the first American Fourierists watered down this extraordinary thinker's wilder notions of passionate attraction in favor of his attractive socialism, the anarchists significantly modified the socialism while embracing free love as part of their insistence on individualist ideals. Indeed, Fourier's fantastic speculations sparkle with images of intoxication, festivity, and delight in a passionate new world where, according to twentieth-century Fourierist Peter Lamborn Wilson, "Everything is erotic" and "the only possible society is one composed entirely of lovers."

In "Modern Times and the Emergence of Free Love," John Spurlock emphasizes "Modern Times' tolerance for strange and dangerous ideas" as the factor that made the community a "congenial birthplace for free love" as it "attracted radicals who were suspicious of all institutions." The vibrant collection of nonconformists who converged at Modern Times included several outspoken opponents of conventional marriage such as writer Marx Edgeworth Lazarus and founder Stephen Pearl Andrews. Upon leaving Modern Times, one short-term resident charged that, "Wife with them is synonymous with slave, and monogamy is denounced as a vicious monopoly of affection."

Similar to Modern Times and founded as vibrant response to conventional moralities and strictly organized communities, settlers at the Home colony resisted any formal organization beyond the association that kept the land in common.



GROUP SEX

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John Humphrey Noyes's nineteenth-century, communal outpost at Oneida, New York prospered for thirty years and is probably the most widely researched and discussed attempt at practicing free love in a utopian context. Inspired by the biblical notion that in heaven disciples "neither marry nor are given in marriage," Oneidans advocated and attempted a form of Christian free love they labeled *complex marriage*, pioneered birth control with the practice of *male continence* (sexual intercourse without ejaculation, also known as coitus interruptus), and practiced free love more than the desirability of one model over another.

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In "Anarchist Utopianism in the Progressive Era," Detroit-based social historian and Fifth Estate contributor Francis Shor describes Home as a "haven for nonconformists" and observes that "colonists advocated free sexual liberation, nudity, communal landholding, and radical politics which, in turn, challenged the dominant norms and values of their neighbors and the wider society."

Home's critics in the local media of the time painted a sensational picture of "filthy dreamers" and anarchist "perverts." However, the colonists frequently earned and



—Stephen Goodfellow

GROUP SEX

Continued from page 13

handful of hip dreamers attempted to reinvent group marriage without jealousy at Kerista, an urban commune in San Francisco. Despite infectious utopian idealism and a successful community computer business, Kerista's elaborate social contract and cult of personality (surrounding the group's unofficial leader) ultimately created an intolerable social climate for the members.

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Innovative Sexual Practices

While the Oneidans firmly rejected claims they were irresponsible, hedonistic, or perverse, they clearly and radically experimented with sexuality as men accepted responsibility for birth control and women acknowledged orgasms a hundred years before the so-called sexual revolution. With successful business endeavors, a sophisticated communal culture, innovative sexual practices, and an extended family identity, the community collectively articulated what Lawrence Foster calls Noyes's "millenarian expectation that the ideal patterns of the kingdom of heaven could literally be realized on earth."

Despite Oneida's utopian achievements, complex marriage and communal solidarity could not extend beyond the enchanted vision of the founder. In 1879, two years after Noyes gave up his leadership role, the Oneidans abandoned complex marriage. In 1881, the community dissolved and reformed as a joint-stock company.

Discontent with the strict structure of sexual relations in the community took many forms. Because participa-



—Stephen Goodfellow

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Continued from page 13

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In "A Tale of Two Communes: A Scholar and His Errors," Michael Cummings offers a critical yet balanced assessment of Kerista's creative response to the limits of monogamy and final failure to practice polyfidelity in the context of a feminist, egalitarian commune. As in many utopian schemes, the Keristans' "ambitious visions" proved difficult to sustain in everyday practice.

However, Cummings and former Keristans agree that the commune's demise did not result from too much freedom in terms of sexual practices, but from a lack of freedom in the communal structure. Cummings believes that polyfidelity provided the Keristans with "a high level of personal gratification and freedom from sexual tension."

"Delicious Sexual Variety"

In "The Dark Side of Community," former member Michael Slomiak recalls "the love, delicious sexual variety, intellectual dynamism, humor, and vision." Similarly, founding Keristan Eve Furchgott remembers "a real sense of belonging to a tribe." Nevertheless, Slomiak, Furchgott, and other survivors of the Kerista experiment express profound disillusionment with the communal dynamic and the authoritarian power trips of Kerista's quasi-guru, "Brother Jud."

factor that made the community a "congenial birthplace for free love" as it "attracted radicals who were suspicious of all institutions." The vibrant collection of nonconformists who converged at Modern Times included several outspoken opponents of conventional marriage such as writer Marx Edgeworth Lazarus and founder Stephen Pearl Andrews. Upon leaving Modern Times, one short-term resident charged that. "Wife with them is synonymous with slave, and monogamy is denounced as a vicious monopoly of affection."

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In "Anarchist Utopianism in the Progressive Era," Detroit-based social historian and Fifth Estate contributor Francis Shor describes Home as a "haven for nonconformists" and observes that "colonists advocated free sexual liberation, nudity, communal landholding, and radical politics which, in turn, challenged the dominant norms and values of their neighbors and the wider society."

Home's critics in the local media of the time painted a sensational picture of "filthy dreamers" and anarchist "perverts." However, the colonists frequently earned and celebrated their radical reputation. In "Home: Nest of Anarchy or Haven of Individualism," Charles LeWarne notes that the community attracted a diverse collection of people including ones who lived in wigwams and tree stumps, lectured on everything from classical history to herbology to astrology, housed fugitives, played music, cross-dressed, discussed philosophy, studied in an extensive library, educated children without rules, ate vegetarian food, and published widely-read journals of anarchist dissent.

Radical luminaries like Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman visited Home along with many lesser known labor organizers and radical writers. While Goldman lectured at Home and visited friends there at least twice, she was rumored to have criticized the community—like so many twentieth-century, political activists have criticized "hippie" communes—because "the people seemed more interested in vegetables and chickens than in propaganda."

According to LeWarne, Home's notion of free love "was based on the belief that neither state nor church had a right to control the family or sexual relations." While LeWarne dismisses the possibility of "licentiousness" at

Continued on page 16

The Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris contains many tombs honoring artists and rebels, but the most striking of them all is the monument to the gay English playwright and anarchist Oscar Wilde.¹

The story of Wilde's trial for homosexuality and subsequent imprisonment in England is well-known. After his release from jail in 1897, he fled to the continent and settled in Paris. He died there in exile in 1900 and was quietly buried in Père Lachaise.

There were no plans to mark his grave until 1908, when an anonymous English donor put up £2,000 and asked Robert Ross, Wilde's literary executor, to hire the sculptor Jacob Epstein to carve a gravestone monument. Epstein was an expatriate American whose own anarchist libertarianism had been nurtured in New York and later in Paris, where he lived from 1902 to 1905.²

He eagerly accepted the project, but did not settle on a design until 1911. Epstein (with the assistance of Eric Gill) spent approximately a year carving his sculpture out of an immense stone block weighing 20 tons. The monument was a flying "demon angel," naked except for a headdress with symbolic figures representing Fame flanked by Intellectual Pride, and Luxury, which was carved on three sides and mounted on a plinth so as to appear to be in mid-flight.³ The sculpture was completed in the spring of 1912 and shipped to Paris that June. Epstein followed in July to oversee its installation in the cemetery where Wilde was buried, however at this point problems arose.

No sooner had Epstein set the sculpture in place than the civic authorities in charge of the cemetery condemned it as indecent due to its highly visible genitals, which had been given a "peculiarly elaborate and almost decorative treatment," in the words of one visitor who had seen the finished product in the studio.⁴

The monument was covered with a tarpaulin and Epstein ordered to "modify" it. This demand was backed up by the Préfecture de Police and an official Comité d'esthétique composed of important art-

one's state of mind must come before social revolution. Once individuals adopted an antimaterialist, Artistocratic attitude toward life, rebellions against capitalism would follow, though the group never spelled out what form those revolts would take.⁹

Gérard de Lacaze-Duthier was the prime spokesperson among the group who articulated what an "Artistocratic" state of mind entailed. The Artistocrat enjoyed a psychological and physiological "equilibrium" or "harmony" that in turn produced a desire to share his or her experience with others. Everyday life was transformed into an act of beauty because the Artistocrat was "a being free from all dogma, possessing his own law, his own morality, sole master of his destiny, creating his life harmoniously such as he believes it, managing to equilibrate all his passions and all his ideas, and to rejuvenate and renew himself through his incessant action."

The Artistocrat not only experienced life's "profound meaning": he or she composed with "lyricism," creating art forms whose equilibrium, "beauty," and "justice," infused the surrounding environment. Lacaze-Duthier did not propagate art-for-art's-sake escapism; rather, the Aristocratic way of life was a revolutionary anticapitalist example for others to emulate.¹⁰

These same principles informed the defense of the Wilde monument mounted by the group's leading art critic, Atl (Gerardo Murillo, a future participant in the post-World War I muralist movement in Mexico). Atl evoked the Artistocrat notion of physiological and psychological harmony, arguing that anyone "in full possession of his sexual equilibrium cannot be offended before the symbol of virility." Noting other sculptures had been repressed on similar grounds by the Ecole officials in their capacity as judges for the

state's actions.

The success of their campaign is reflected in the list of petitioners published in the 15 April 1913 issue of *L'Action d'Art*, which reads like a virtual cross-section of the French and English avant-garde.¹² Ultimately, the protests were to no avail and the sculpture's genitals were covered over by a bronze plaque.

Epstein was disgusted. However, the Artistocrats had their revenge. "A band of artists and poets subsequently made a raid upon the monument and removed this plaque," the sculptor later recalled. "One evening at the Café Royal, a man appeared wearing this affair suspended from his neck and, approaching me, explained its significance."¹³

One can only imagine the laughter that ensued. Sensing further actions to alter Epstein's statue would be useless, the authorities kept the monument under a tarpaulin until August 1914, when the "obscene" work finally saw the light of day.

That same month the uncorrupted youth of France marched off to World War I, where they perished in the hundreds of thousands.

Endnotes

(1) Wilde declared himself an anarchist in 1893. See Donald Drew Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts in Western Europe* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 465.

ism: *Art, Politics, and the First American Avant-Garde* (forthcoming, University of Chicago Press, Spring, 2001). Epstein's anarchist contacts in France and England are outlined in Evelyn Silber, *The Sculpture of Epstein* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1986), 10-22 and Mark Antliff, "Cubism, Futurism, Anarchism: The 'Aestheticism' of the Action d'art Group," *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no. 2 (1998), 109, note 44.

(3) Silber, 131, note 40.

(4) A. Mola to J. Stern, October, 25, 1942, cited in *Ibid*.

(5) M. Antliff, "Cubism, Futurism, Anarchism," 107.

(6) Epstein to H.P. Roche, September 14, 1912 cited in Silber, 131, note 40.

(7) M. Antliff, "Cubism, Futurism, Anarchism," 112-113. From 1907 through to World War II the Artistocrats propagated their tenets in a series of journals, notably *La Foire aux chimères*



Oscar Wilde's Paris tomb became a battleground for sexual liberation. —photo/Federico Arcos

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SEXUAL

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The monument was covered with a tarpaulin and Epstein ordered to "modify" it. This demand was backed up by the Préfecture de Police and an official Comité d'esthétique composed of important artists from the state-sponsored Ecole des Beaux Arts, which issued a public declaration that the work was "obscene."⁵ Desperate to save his monument, Epstein penned an open letter asking "all artists and writers who value the freedom of their conceptions and who might wish to protest against the tyranny of petty officials" to rally to its defense.⁶

Among those who responded were the Artistocrats, an anarchist collective of Parisian artists and critics who published a journal, *L'Action d'Art*, from a storefront space on the rue Edouard Manet, located in the heart of the city's working-class district. There they ran a noncommercial gallery and evening free school where they propagated their own distinc-

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SEXUAL ANARCHY: The Monument to Oscar Wilde

by Allan and Mark Antliff

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(2) Epstein was born in New York's impoverished Lower East Side Jewish community in 1880. Around the age of 18, he met Emma Goldman and began attending anarchist meetings while still a teenager. In 1902, another anarchist, Hutchins Hapgood, hired Epstein to illustrate a book on the Lower East Side.

Epstein was already aspiring to be an artist and this gave him the means to travel to Paris, where he studied from 1902 to 1905. With introductions from Goldman and Hapgood to pave the way, he gained the

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(8) Oscar Wilde, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism" in Richard Ellmann, ed. *The Artist as Critic: Critical Writings of Oscar Wilde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 257.

(9) M. Antliff, "Cubism, Futurism, Anarchism," 106. That said, the group did support the anarchist-individualist Bonnot Gang's string of pre-World War I bank expropriations and developed a number of anti-commodification strategies in the realm of art production. On their support for Bonnot, see Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton University Press, 1993): 135-67.

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Among those who responded were the Artistocrats, an anarchist collective of Parisian artists and critics who published a journal, *L'Action d'Art*, from a storefront space on the rue Edouard Manet, located in the heart of the city's working-class district. There they ran a noncommercial gallery and evening free school where they propagated their own distinctive "Artistocratic" brand of anarchist-individualism.⁷

The Artistocrats had long admired Wilde, both for his defiant sexual rebellion and for his essay, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism" (1891), in which he called for every individual to develop their artistic potential and wrote that "the form of government which best suits the artist is the absence of all government."⁸

Wilde believed only a communist society could ensure the spread of an artistic sensibility, since under capitalism the vast majority were caught up in the struggle to survive. The Artistocrats shared his anti-capitalist views, but held that a change in

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Such censorship was an insult "to the simple dignity of the healthy man" and served notice that the state's cultural officials were morally corrupt and therefore artistically "impotent." In fact, Epstein's monument was one of those harmonious manifestations of aesthetic individualism fully in keeping with the anarchist philosophy of the Artistocrats and Wilde himself.¹¹ Thus, Atl deftly turned the tables on Epstein's critics, labelling them deviants.

In 1913, the Artistocrats organized a campaign to obstruct government plans to "mutilate" the sculpture by covering its genitals with a plaque. They issued a broadsheet calling on all "thinkers, artists and writers" to sign a petition of protest. And, in keeping with the Artistocrat attitude toward sexual liberation, the group reproduced an image of the monument, genitalia triumphant, to expose the homophobic and anti-sexual prejudices fuelling the

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Epstein was already aspiring to be an artist and this gave him the means to travel to Paris, where he studied from 1902 to 1905. With introductions from Goldman and Hapgood to pave the way, he gained the friendship of many Parisian comrades, including the venerable Bakuninist Victor Dave—Epstein met his Scottish-born wife, Margaret Dunlop, at Dave's apartment. She was the one who convinced him to move to England in 1905, where his career took off.

In England, he befriended Augustus John (painter), Eric Gill (sculptor), Charles Holden (architect) and other anarchists in London's art community. He even planned to set up a rural artists' commune with Gill where they could "celebrate human sexuality in art" (the project failed for lack of funds to lease or purchase the chosen site—a farm in Sussex).

On Hapgood's anarchism and the connections linking New York and Parisian anarchists, see Allan Antliff, *Anarchist Modern-*



Oscar Wilde's Paris tomb became a battleground for sexual liberation. —photo/Federico Arcos

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(11) Atl, "Notre Protestations en Faveur du Monument Oscar Wilde," *L'Action d'Art*, 10 May 1913, 3-4 and Atl, "Les Édits Delanney," *L'Action d'Art*, 15 March 1913, 3.

(12) The list includes Wyndham Lewis, Francis Picabia, Albert Gleizes, Guillaume Apollinaire, Paul Fort, Max Jacob, and Alexander Archipenko. See M. Antliff, "Cubism, Futurism, Anarchism," 109.

(13) Jacob Epstein, *Let There Be Sculpture*. (New York: P.G. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 46-7. This book contains an invaluable appendix with documents related to the controversy.

By Kerry Mogg



Reaction to the Calgary Oil Congress Protests

They Evacuated the Cows

by the police, began a terror campaign of misinformation around the same time.

Warnings in the *Calgary Sun* about the "violent anarchy" that was sure to occur as a result of protests against oil industry executives managed to shroud environmental concerns in a thick layer of right wing fog. The powers that control this conservative prairie city have a long and distinguished record of intolerance towards anyone disagreeing with their views.

This time Calgary's conservatives outdid themselves by indulging in a four month long paranoia binge. While activists prepared for nonviolent, creative protest, the Calgary city council, its police force and lap-dog media pundits went into a frenzy as they "braced" for the impending arrival of the "anarchis-

tic forces of darkness."

The weekend prior to the conference, concerned citizens organized a large counter conference "teach-in" composed of environmental activists, human rights advocates and others affected directly by international oil. Those in the latter category included speakers such as Owens Wiwa, brother of Ken Saro Wiwa, the poet and anti-oil development protester, executed by the Nigerian military at the behest of Shell Oil in 1995.

Ceramic Cows Evacuated

While the list of Shell's crimes against Nigeria's populace were being detailed to an audience of several hundred at the counter conference, the governments of Canada and the city of Calgary began their preparations. U.S. environmental advocates were turned back at Calgary International

airport; metal grid barricades were installed throughout half the downtown area; even ceramic cows—part of a public art project—were evacuated to prevent anarchists from hurling them at cops. Hundreds of officers were imported from surrounding cities and towns across Alberta. They were armed with the riot gear and war toys that are now staples of democratic protests: 42-inch wooden truncheons, pepper spray, and tear gas.

Shameless Provocations

Rounding out this experience in mind-numbing totalitarianism, the corporate media exercised its weight with an ongoing campaign against democracy. The *Calgary Sun* in particular was shameless in its provocations against demonstrators. The horrors that "family destroying feminists" (aka activists) would wage on the god-fearing metropolis were its mantra.

The *Sun* ran a full-page article on police chaplain, Constable Kevin McInnes, who contacted every church in Calgary to ask their parishioners to pray for the police who would be dealing with the violent hordes "coming simply to agitate and disrupt." This fear mongering led a large number of Calgarians to avoid the impending demonstration and limited numbers at the march and rally to around one thousand.

During the Counter Conference, local activist/University of Calgary professor Anne McGrath recounted her son's experience when police began making the rounds of elementary schools, detailing the alleged recruitment tactics of the protesters. The police invented descriptions of how protesters target kids for their front lines so they wouldn't be hit by "riot-control" weapons used by the police.

At this point in their talk, the cops

would bring out their riot gear to give the kids a "feel" for what to expect. Still want to get involved with democracy in action, kids?

Amazingly, despite the fear mongering and illegal searches on the day of the demonstration, the anti-oil protests in Calgary were a success story. People came from all corners of Alberta, and at the big march, even bystanders joined in.

We carried banners and paraded giant puppets, while a large contingent of drummers helped to create a festive atmosphere that even the heavily-armed cops zipping back and forth on their motorcycles were unable to destroy. The Edmonton contingent of boisterous Radical Cheerleaders raised everyone's spirits both en route and at a rally held after the initial march.

The following Monday, smaller crowds of anti-oil protesters carried out the event's most creative acts. A soccer game played by Team Shell and Team Earth provided a clear demonstration of the power plays of global capitalism against the natural world, with the Radical Cheerleaders on the sidelines (cheering for Earth).

Best of all, some Calgarians scared off by the anticipated riot the day before showed up to give support. Among the demonstrators that day were a mother with two little kids, carrying their own "People before Profits" signs.

It never seemed likely that we were going to stop the Oil Congress from meeting, but, as in Seattle, as in Washington, as in Windsor, we succeeded in putting a spotlight on another international capitalist cabal, with many of our concerns making it out to the general public.

The devastation wrought upon the planet is now up for household debate—and people are increasingly protesting against it.

Environmental activists, anarchists, and other concerned individuals began organizing against the June 2000 meeting of the World Petroleum Congress in Calgary, Alberta, Canada, six months in advance of the event.

The Congress, founded in 1933, is composed of such oil producing nations as the U.S., Canada, Croatia, Indonesia, Kuwait, Nigeria and Libya. Its focus is industry issues, such as down-playing global warming.

In a cynical effort to pander to media exposure generated by news of the protests, the Congress made "environmental issues" the unofficial theme of their 2000 meeting.

Unfortunately, as soon as protest planning began in earnest, it became evident that activists weren't the only ones organizing. The city of Calgary, spearheaded

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GROUP SEX

Continued from page 14

Home, a lively controversy concerning communal sexual ethics emerged around the practice of nude bathing. When some Home residents were arrested for swimming naked, the local community divided its support for and against nudity and the prosecuted communards. Radical editor Jay Fox added fuel to the fire with an outspoken rant entitled, "The Nudes and the Prudes" that appeared in *The Agitator*, a Home-based radical journal. Fox writes:

"Clothing was made to protect the body, not to hide it. [Home had always been] a community of free spirits, who came out into the woods to escape the polluted atmosphere of priest-ridden conventional society. One of the liberties enjoyed by the Homeites was the privilege to bathe in evening dress, or with merely the clothes nature gave them, just as they chose."

Fox's exhortations exhibit the uncompromising ethic of freedom that defines anarchist communes today as well as those more than a hundred years ago. Although we can only speculate about the specific relational styles that people at Home enjoyed because the historical literature does not deal with this, it is doubtful that a colony with such fiercely libertarian ideals would frown upon any manifestation of erotic multiplicity.

As at Modern Times, residents of Home lived in private dwellings and pursued individual livelihoods. They sought to survive without laws and practice voluntary cooperation. In sharp contrast to the communal economies and complex marriages of Oneida and Kerista, members of these anarchist, free-love societies practiced

cultural radicalism without a messianic leader, a constricting social contract, or any singular, ideological doctrine beyond total freedom. Founding Home member Oliver Verity described their philosophy as "the personal liberty to follow their own line of action no matter how much it may differ from the customs of the past or present, without censure or ostracism from their neighbor."

Free love and the polysexual future

The 1980s and 90s saw reactionary political and religious leaders mount a bitter moral backlash against erotic alternatives. Harsh penalties have been levied on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and polyamorous parents who, in some tragic cases, lost custody of their children because the government believes it can decide that being legally separated from one's mother or father is better for a child than learning that humans can love one another in a variety of ways. While a vocal queer, polysexual, and polyamorous contingent exists within the communal movement, we have had to defend vigorously our choices against moralistic suspicion and condemnation from disapproving families, invasive social workers, and in some cases, self-righteous communitarians.

Today, the commune that exists as an enclave of erotic freedom usually invokes values of diversity and tolerance without official collective pronouncements to promote a doctrine of sex radicalism, even though many believe that complete erotic liberation can be an honest and ethical choice for living a freer and fuller life. We remain hesitant to challenge anyone's prerogative to choose a monogamous, heterosexual lifestyle after living a life riddled with repression for the choices we make.

Beyond Reichian notions that postulate sexual repression, private property, and the patriarchal nuclear family

as fundamental sources of misery and alienation in the modern world, I frequently return to inspired revelations of free love's liberating potential. Truly, the intangible and ineffable power of love itself is what makes polyamory possible. The words of Emma Goldman remind us that love is "the strongest and deepest element in all life, the harbinger of hope, of joy, of ecstasy—the defier of all laws, of all conventions . . ."

Inheriting the radical legacy of free love, contemporary polyamorists reject the fairy-tale concept of the "one, true soul-mate" inscribed both by conservative religion and commodity culture's manufactured images of heterosupremacy and couple-ism so pathetically apparent in such cultural artifacts as the pop song, the date movie, and the romance novel. The notion that all of our intimate needs can be met exclusively by one person is a myth that needs to be questioned by the entire culture, even if some people choose not to act on their desires to love more than one person. Humans possess a variety of physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual needs and desires most adequately satisfied by a variety of people in a variety of ways.

Also, expanding definitions of intimacy should by no means be limited to sexual expression. Like the erotic utopians who precede me, our sexually experimental gestures comprise part of creating a new culture.

Ultimately, love provides its own justification. Just as some communes and group marriages fail, others reappear. Whatever the future holds for free lovers, unconditional love and unwavering optimism shape my vision of an amorous and autonomous society. So, with my merry pranksters of passion, we dance into the polysexual future with enthusiasm, experience, and expanding visions of a voluptuous life, challenging conformity and celebrating diversity.

"Do You All Sleep in the Same Room?" Communes in the 21st Century

Communities Directory A Guide to Intentional Communities and Cooperative Living, Third Edition, Jillian Downey and Elph Morgan, eds., 2000, \$30 from the Fellowship for Intentional Community, www.ic.org, or RR 1, Box 156-D, Rutledge MO 63563

by Sunfrog

"We tried living communally in the Sixties and it didn't work." "I didn't know communes still existed, except in California." "Do you all sleep in the same room?"

More than three decades after the contemporary wave of communal activity took root across North America, many people still harbor knee-jerk assumptions about the nature of cooperative life. Of its many functional and philosophical uses, *The Communities Directory*, now in its third edition, is a valuable tool for dispelling the myths, chronicling the successes, and celebrating the sheer diversity of collective living.

Of the more than 700 communities listed in this new encyclopedic catalog of communal culture, several boast long histories: dozens have survived since the 1960s, a handful since the 1930s and 1940s, and even one began at the end of nineteenth century. The popular media's incessant need to both romanticize and demonize hippie idealism as a throwback notion best reserved for classic rock radio, retro fashion, or made-for-TV docu-dramas (as opposed to a worthy political critique of capitalist daily life), directly contradicts the fact that the vast communal counter-tradition in America never disappeared and transcends trite temporal packaging.

Despite empty proclamations declaring the death of the cooperative counter-culture, the contemporary communal movement continues to brew a balm of economic cooperation and ecological sustainability amid the jaded McCulture of rampant consumerism and technocratic

is its 40 pages of maps and charts cataloging the diversity of the communal movement. From California to Connecticut, from Michigan to Montana, from Texas to Tennessee, the directory demonstrates, without doubt, the simple declaration: *we are everywhere*. From Catholic Workers to Radical Faeries, from vegan activists to separatist dykes, from New Age to old age, this Directory details the dynamic breadth and depth of a social, spiritual, and political phenomenon.

As with the two previous editions of the directory published in 1990 and 1995, the new version provides a comprehensive and indispensable resource for anyone considering visiting, joining, or starting a community, for people already living in community desiring an up-to-date networking tool, and for researchers wishing to study the communal movement at the turn-of-the-millennium.

In addition to the updated and expanded listings of specific communities, this edition features new sections like "The Many Flavors of Community" and "Living It," focusing on how different communities offer safe spaces and meet the needs of different groups, from Christians to queers, children to the elderly. Within these sections, I found Sandorfag's "Recruiting Queer Communards! Homophobia, Sexuality, and Community" to be a compelling reflection on the benefits of organizing community around erotic dissent.

However, in making room for many new articles, I noticed the absence of some of the better pieces from the last edition, with nothing comparable to replace them. In particular, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness," "Buying Your Community Property," and "For the Next Seven Generations: Indigenous Americans and Communalism," all helpful and provocative essays in the 1995 edition, have been omitted, and none of the new inclusions cover similar territory.

by Sunfrog

With a name like the Layabouts, it should come as no surprise that Detroit's Cass Corridor premier anarchist dance band has taken 15 years to produce a follow-up recording to 1985's blazing combination of infectious beats and insurrectionary lyrics, *No Masters*.

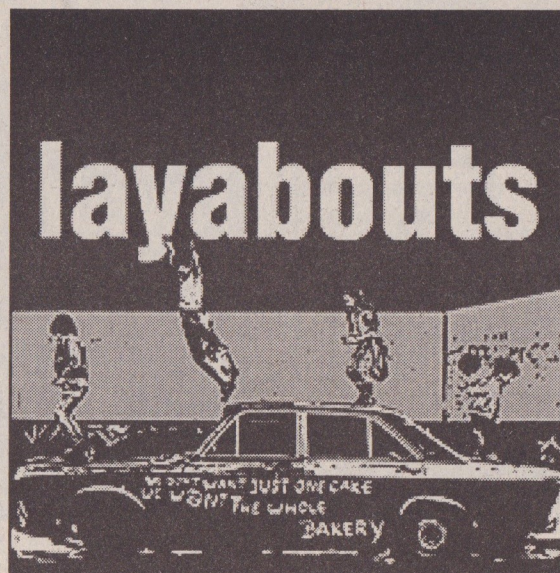
Yet, most fans of this group will agree that a Layabouts recording is a musical gift worth waiting for.

The years between their discs reflects that this phenomenal crew of activists and artists are not careerist celebrities, but friends who make music together for fun while maintaining commitments to families, jobs, and radical causes. And of course, The Layabouts recognize the virtues of laziness.

With founding members Alan and Ralph Franklin, Stephen Goodfellow, and Mel Rosas still carrying the torch and joined by keyboardist Jody Carlson, backup singers Sylvia Inwood and Peggy King, and Roberto Warren on congas, the Layabouts prove that neither time nor the fickle trends of the music industry can stifle the creative flame of committed musicians.

Long before the amorphous genre of "world music" had its own section at your local Tower Records, the Layabouts were

You Might as Well Dance: The Return of the Son of the Layabouts



cooking up a sizzling hybrid stew of musical styles that drew from Detroit's own gritty urban guitar sound, English ska like the English Beat, political punk, reggae, salsa, and African jive, to name a few.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Layabouts were perhaps best known for the sensual and

sweaty, hip-shaking euphoria created by their devoted fans and political comrades who joined them at revolutionary dance parties to oppose US militarism in Central America, apartheid in South Africa, worldwide nuclear proliferation, and Detroit's giant trash incinerator.

They were also fixtures at international anarchist gatherings held in Chicago, Minneapolis, and Toronto in the mid- and late-1980s.

Whether performing outdoors in a park, on downtown streets at a demonstration, or in a crowded bar, Layabouts gigs foster a sense of communal joy and energetic release, reminding all of us that dancing can heal us from the drudgeries of daily life and inspire us as we prepare to make revolution.

The Layabouts CD can be sampled and purchased at www.thelayabouts.com, or ordered on our book service on pag 18.

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Despite empty proclamations declaring the death of the cooperative counter-culture, the contemporary communal movement continues to brew a balm of economic cooperation and ecological sustainability amid the jaded McCulture of rampant consumerism and technocratic individualism.

Perhaps the single most striking feature of this almost 500-page resource book

Queer Communards! Homophobia, Sexuality, and Community" to be a compelling reflection on the benefits of organizing community around erotic dissent.

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Continued on page 23

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REVIEWS

Support Your Local Utopia: Vachel Lindsay's *Golden Book*

The Golden Book of Springfield, Vachel Lindsay, 1920, Re-Introduction by Ron Sakolsky, 1999, Charles H. Kerr Publishers, Chicago

by Sunfrog

Nearly three decades after moving to central Illinois to share radical ideas with students at Sangamon State college, activist-writer-anarchist-musicologist-deejay-and-dreamer Ron Sakolsky is planting the seeds of his exodus from the job that brought him there, at the now sanitized, corporatized, and renamed University of Illinois at Springfield.

When he leaves his home at the humble rural abode known as Fool's Paradise, Sakolsky will bequeath the "Land of Lincoln" a radical literary legacy of its lesser-known native son, the visionary romantic, Vachel Lindsay. Sakolsky helped revive the bizarre utopian trajectory of the *Golden Book*, Lindsay's previously out-of-print novel that takes place in Springfield in 2018, not for its impeccably co-

gent prose, he says, but rather for its intoxicatingly creative prophecy.

In the pithy and beautifully written introduction, Sakolsky searches, scavenges, and speculates to script an alternative history for his region, weaving Lindsay's lyrical hallucinations of heaven on earth into the context of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century utopian scene. For Sakolsky, Lindsay lived in an imaginative interstice between the passionate attraction of Fourier and the compassionate ecumenicism of midwest evangelicals, both seizing the mantle of the nineteenth-century utopian tradition, rejecting the greed and racism of many of his contemporaries, and foreshadowing the lush language games of the Surrealists and the dense discursive diatribes of the Beats.

In contrast to the nauseatingly patriotic pioneer mythos surrounding Abraham Lincoln, the lore that Sakolsky patches together about Lindsay makes a much more fascinating and radical story. This new edition of *The Golden Book* is Ron's gift to the region he's called home for almost

thirty years.

Better known as an eccentric poet and virtually unknown outside small circles of literary scholars and Springfield history buffs, Lindsay, as Sakolsky helps his hometown and the world see him, is a sort of prairie Blake of bible communism, a shamanic sage of Sangamon County, a William Morris of the midwest. Compared to other utopian novels, Lindsay's *Golden Book* failed to inspire me with its social template for the twenty-first century. His magical Springfield is politically problematic—contaminated as it is with paeans to patriotism, puritanism, and a naïve notion of a benign World Government; however, at the same time, Lindsay is poetically dynamic, announcing a village of voluptuous beauty, populated by unusual people and fanciful fairies, buddhas, butterflies, and angels.

Lindsay's spiritual stance avoids rigid religiosity since his enthusiasm hints at sloppy mysticism and inclusive pantheism. Indeed, Lindsay includes in his visions of the twenty-first century a psyche-

delic inversion of Adam and Eve's bad fruit experience in the Garden of Eden; in the new Springfield, the people eat the sweet fruit of the Amaranth Apple and taste lavish and enchanted visions from "the far jungles of Heaven." A little crazy for sure, Lindsay's linguistic elixir is brewed in a cacophonous cathedral of dreams—not in a political theory colloquium.

Sakolsky perhaps anticipates readers' mixed reactions to the wacky world views espoused in Lindsay's prophecies. Rather than ignore or dispel the more difficult aspects of Lindsay's work, Sakolsky urges each of us to "become a participant in the visionary process" because he sees Lindsay not as a "proselytizer for a particular utopian blueprint, but an advocate of utopian thinking per se." So, hopefully, many readers will leave Sakolsky's sharp scholarship and Lindsay's strange narrative with a hunger to search for the lost utopias lingering in their own backyards and the magic apples growing in their own orchards.



News & Reviews

The several thousand unapproved, pirate radio stations operating in the U.S. won a Pyrrhic victory in July when the Federal Communication Commission agreed to license hundreds of the low power broadcasting operations, many which feature anarchist, punk, black, and community programming.

The catch is that the FCC will demand that licensed frequencies broadcast a certain number of hours a week. Also, about half of the applications for licensing have come from right-wing, fundamentalist churches.

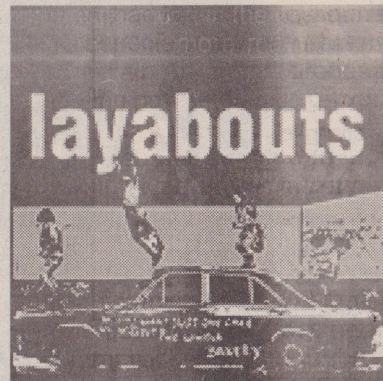
Operating a radio station other than a few hours a week, day after day, is a daunting prospect, and although some radical stations have had a notable impact on local struggles and community building, most of them probably have listenerships no more than in the high two digits. Whether such an intensive undertaking that will be demanded by the government is worth the low audience numbers will have to be decided.

The other option is to keep broadcasting the way they have. Fuck government regulation.

However, even with the new FCC leniency, it seems little has changed. On Sept. 29, a multi-jurisdictional task force

Fifth Estate Books

Let's hear from some Fifth Estate contributors



THE LAYABOUTS

"Long before the amorphous genre of 'world music' had its own section at your local Tower Records, the Layabouts were cooking up a sizzling hybrid stew of musical styles that drew from Detroit's own gritty urban guitar sound, English ska like the English Beat, political punk, reggae, salsa, and African jive, to name a few." —from the *FE* review; p.20. These folks only do a recording every 15 years, so grab this new one.

DIY 10 songs \$10

I COULDN'T PAINT GOLDEN ANGELS

Sixty Years of Commonplace Life and Anarchist Agitation
by Albert Meltzer

We were privileged to meet Albert in Detroit near the end of life. His enthusiasm for anarchy hadn't dimmed a bit since he fought fascists in London in the 1930s, got bawled out by Emma Goldman for being a boxer, took part in innumerable strikes, participated in anti-Franco Angry Brigade actions, and the Anarchist Black Cross. Turning one of Goldman's often quoted maxims on its head, Meltzer said, "If I can't have revolution, what is there to dance about?" A wild ride through the lifetime of a man who knew



MARIE MASON

In the tradition of Wobbly and Earth First! troubadours, Marie Mason, long time *FE* collaborator, sings lyrically, sweetly and powerfully about the fight for a just and natural world in her debut CD, *Not For Profit*. The songs include Using You, Take It Down, The RCP Song, Tiananmen Square, and the title cut. EF!er Darryl Cherney shares some of the song writing and guitar picking.

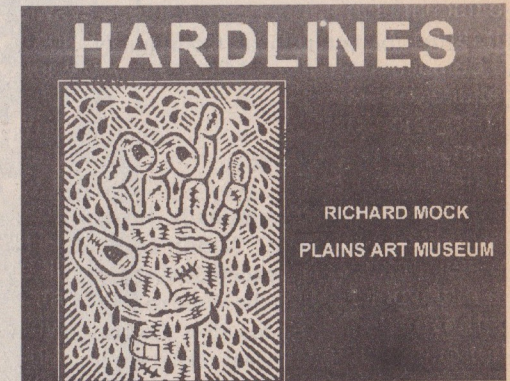
DIY 8 songs \$10

quickly, Il Duce and his gang of thugs had to fight town-by-town battles throughout Italy to install their despotic rule. *Rivista Anarchica*, a long running anarchist publication, recounts how workers and peasants, often led by anarchists, fought for years against the Blackshirts. Despite a glaring front cover typo ("Facism"), this translation tells the stories of communities fighting for their lives and freedom.

ASP 52pp. \$3.50

ALL-AMERICAN ANARCHIST: Joseph Labadie and the Labor Movement by Carlotta Anderson

In this account of the man dubbed "The Gentle Anarchist," his granddaughter brings to life not only the person complete with foibles and misjudgments, but also the era. Labor radicals and anarchists of the last third of the 1800s are



RICHARD MOCK

Internationally renowned linocut illustrator Richard Mock's works have been featured for years in the pages and on the covers of the *Fifth Estate* (oh, yeah, and in the *New York Times* and other publications around the world.) In Summer 2000, Richard taught a class in cartoon art at the Plains Art Museum in Fargo, North Dakota. The results are featured in *Hardlines*, 95 social commentary linocut prints including 67 from children.

Plains Art Museum 95 prints list/\$15 \$10

paper between 1981-96, cover mass tech-nics, the ecological crisis, the critique of civilization, reason and spirit, war and empire, including "Stopping the Industrial Hydra," "Civilization in Bulk," "Looking Back on the Vietnam War," "Homage to Fredy Perlman," a revised "Against the Megamachine," and many more.

Autonopedia 334pp. \$14

LIVE FROM DEATH ROW by Mumia Abu-Jamal

These essays would be moving and informative even if they didn't come from Mumia's current residence (see p.2). His writings include the suppressed commentaries squelched by NPR radio after they buckled to pressure from cops and politicians. Introduction by John Edgar Wideman

Addison-Wesley 217pp.(HB) orig.\$20/\$10

daunting prospect, and although some radical stations have had a notable impact on local struggles and community building, most of them probably have listenerships no more than in the high two digits. Whether such an intensive undertaking that will be demanded by the government is worth the low audience numbers will have to be decided.

The other option is to keep broadcasting the way they have. Fuck government regulation.

However, even with the new FCC leniency, it seems little has changed. On Sept. 29, a multi-jurisdictional task force comprised of nine carloads of federal marshals, sheriff's deputies, city police and FCC officers raided the Springfield, Ill. home of Mhanna Kantako, the father of the micropower radio movement, and shut down his unlicensed Human Rights Radio. The raiding party confiscated all of his equipment and computer.

Kantako, who is blind, started broadcasting in November 1987 and had logged 4,448 on-air days showing it can be done. His nonstop civil and human rights message has made him a frequent target for the authorities.

The bogus charge is that the operation of the low power broadcast signal might cause planes at the nearby Air Rendezvous Air Show to crash.

The second annual Underground Publishing Conference took place in Bowling Green, Ohio, June 10-11 on the campus of the local university.

The event organizers, Jen Angel and Jason Kucsma, who recently launched a new, radical, glossy magazine, *clamor*, attracted 300 zinesters and aficionados to meet, trade, talk, and learn about zine making in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. Most of the participants were from the Midwest punk and anarchist milieu, but a few traveled from as far away as Philadelphia, and Gainesville, Florida.

Continued on next page

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AK PRESS 386pp \$20

AVANT GARDENING Ecological Struggle in the City & the World

edited by Peter Langborn Wilson and Bill Weinberg

Monsanto and Archer Daniels Midland want to control all the food, all the seeds, and all the DNA. Their goal is a world in which if the seed isn't brand name, it doesn't grow. The struggles against these monsters demand that we connect community gardens to struggles for peasant land across the globe, that we free our food from the corporate octopus. Essays by the editors plus Bernadette Cozart, Bernadette Mayer, Carmelo Ruiz, Sarah Ferguson, Joe Hollis (a reprinted *FE* article), and others.

Autonomedia 168pp \$8

RED YEARS; BLACK YEARS Anarchist Resistance to Fascism from Rivista Anarchica

Unlike Germany, where fascism triumphed

right town-by-town battles throughout Italy to install their despotic rule. *Rivista Anarchica*, a long running anarchist publication, recounts how workers and peasants, often led by anarchists, fought for years against the Blackshirts. Despite a glaring front cover typo ("Facism"), this translation tells the stories of communities fighting for their lives and freedom.

ASP 52pp. \$3.50

ALL-AMERICAN ANARCHIST:

Joseph Labadie and the Labor Movement
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In this account of the man dubbed "The Gentle Anarchist," his granddaughter brings to life not only the person complete with foibles and misjudgments, but also the era. Labor radicals and anarchists of the last third of the 1800s are often ignored for those of the 1930s. Anderson sketches resistance to capital in the earlier era and those who filled the ranks of rebellion. Highly recommended. See review last issue.

Wayne State Univ. Press 328pp. hb \$26

AGAINST CIVILIZATION Readings and Reflections

by John Zerzan

Reforms be damned. They only extend the misery created by civilization's institutions, this volume argues, be they the state, the division of labor, or representation of any type. Contrary to Hobbes, life is nasty, brutish and short since we left primitive life, not during it. Zerzan has collected 51 essays from a range of authors and scholars which challenge accepting the world as we know it as a starting point for rebellion. *FE* staffers, David Watson and Lynne Clive appear with Adorno, Rousseau, Sahlins, Turner, and the Unabomber.

Uncivilized Books 214pp. \$10

AGAINST THE MEGAMACHINE: ESSAYS ON EMPIRE & ITS ENEMIES by David Watson

These essays, most of which appeared in this

one, including "Stopping the Industrial Hydra," "Civilization in Bulk," "Looking Back on the Vietnam War," "Homage to Fredy Perlman," a revised "Against the Megamachine," and many more.

Autonomedia 334pp. \$14

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Addison-Wesley 217pp.(HB) orig.\$20/\$10

A DAY MOURNFUL AND OVERCAST by an "Uncontrollable" of the Iron

Column during the Spanish Civil War
Rarely is the difference between the "People in Arms" and the bureaucratic "People's Army" seen more starkly than in this portrayal of the militarization of the anarchist brigades during the Spanish Civil War. This "uncontrollable" describes his miserable life, including prison, before being set free to fight for the anarchist revolution. He angrily denounces plans to turn Durruti's fiercest fighting unit into a battalion with traditional rank and external discipline. He correctly sees this process as prefiguring the defeat of the revolution. Beautifully produced, with moving prose.

Everybody is born one Publishing 15p \$3

MUTUAL AID: A Factor of Evolution by Peter Kropotkin

An anarchist classic which profoundly influenced theories of human biology. A counterblast to the social conclusions drawn from the Darwinian "struggle for existence."

FreedomPress 278pp \$11

Fifth Estate Books is located at 4632 Second Avenue, just south of W. Forest, in Detroit, in the same space as the *Fifth Estate* newspaper. Hours vary, so please call before visiting.

HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL

1) List the title of the book, quantity, and the price of each; 2) add 10% for mailing costs—not less than \$1.13 U.S. or \$2.00 foreign (minimum for 4th class book rate postage); 3) total; 4) write check or money order to: **Fifth Estate**; 5) mail to: **Fifth Estate**, 4632 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48201 USA. Phone 313/831-6800 for hours or more information.

NEWS & REVIEWS

Continued from page 22

There was also representation from the comic, self-published poetry, and hardcore music scenes.

Enthusiasm was high during the workshops and talks scheduled throughout the two days and the sessions featured many imaginative and useful topics, such as Prisoner Zines, Copy Centers Are Your Friend, Typography and Graphic Design, Zines in Public Libraries, Distribution, Underground Comics, The Power of a Jobzine; as well as more general sessions on date rape, activism, and herbal health remedies for women; also a session hosted by two Fifth Estate staffers entitled Media Resistance.

There was a good turnout (25+), for the Media Resistance workshop, which I moderated. It was a general overview of the history of social movements and radical publishing from 1840 to the present. But the discussion eventually turned to the pros and cons of print vs. electronic publishing, a hot topic among today's zinesters.

A session on Dead Anarchists I Have Known, hosted by Bob Helms of the Philadelphia IWW, was a compelling slide presentation complete with amazing anecdotes about the 19th century anarchist movement in Philadelphia.

The evening's entertainment ranged from the Lost Film Festival presented by Bloodlink Motion Pictures (www.bloodlink.com), to rock with Aloha, Lovesick (Ann Arbor), Minim (Chicago), and Stylex (Bowling Green). A third conference is planned for next year. Info from *clamor* magazine in the item below.

—Julie Herrada

Clamor magazine, mentioned above, is self-described as, "A loud and continued uproar of many human voices."

This beautifully designed, slick-cover magazine has published four times as of its August/September issue which contains a vibrant debate on voting, photography from Charles Gatewood, articles about violence and masculinity, and unjobbing.

2,000 letters and calls of protest. Surprised by the outpouring, prison officials released Paul after three days in solitary back into minimum security. Calls of protest *do* work!

You can receive a sample of *PLN* at 2400 NW 80th St., #148, Seattle WA 98117 or from www.prisonlegalnews.org. Write Paul Wright #930783, at MICC, POB 881000, Steilacoom WA 98388.

British author and anarchist, Alex Comfort, who gained international fame in 1972 in the midst of the sexual revolution for his bestselling *The Joy of Sex* died earlier this year at 80. He was also a poet and nuclear-disarmament campaigner.

The Joy of Sex, published in 1972, sold 12 million copies worldwide and was translated into two dozens languages.

Comfort, who frequently said he was irritated that he was always remembered for the sex manual rather than his other extensive work, nevertheless acknowledged that it was pioneering. "Before my book, writing about sex gave the impression of being written by non-playing coaches," he once said.

Comfort also wrote over 50 other books of novels, poetry, criticism, scientific texts and Asian philosophy. He was active in London anarchist circles, was a pacifist member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and a conscientious objector during World War II.

It turns out that Theodore Kaczynski, a.k.a. the Unabomber, was a volunteer in mind-control experiments sponsored by the CIA at Harvard in the late 1950s and early 1960s in which some subjects were given large quantities of LSD.

Michael Mello, author of the recently published book, *The United States of America vs. Theodore John Kaczynski*, notes that at some point in his Harvard years—1958 to 1962—Kaczynski agreed to be the subject of "a psychological experiment."

What did the CIA's mad scientists give Kaczynski? Did the experiment's long-term effects help tilt him into the Unabomber's homicidal rampages? The CIA's mind experiment was a failure.

drink," or having any LSD-like experiences.

Hey, old timers or those interested in the last era of radical protest: if you want to relive the 1960s in the Motor City with John Sinclair, the White Panthers, and the rock of the Grande Ballroom, check out a just released 72-minute spoken word CD, "Music is Revolution," compiled by Detroit's Book Beat Gallery proprietor, Cary Loren.

It was put together from tapes held by the Bentley Historical Library in Ann Arbor and was edited down from 50 hours of recorded conversations and speeches.

Included are the SDS Weatherman Declaration of War by Bernadine Dohrn, a jailhouse interview with Black Panther founder Bobby Seale, plus other White Panther ramblings. *Fifth Estate* staffer Peter Werbe makes a cameo appearance commenting on Sinclair's incarceration for two joints of marijuana. Gary Grimshaw art, MC5 photos and posters, underground newspaper articles, and Mid-West '60s art comprise an accompanying 16-page booklet.

Price, postpaid, is \$12 from Book Beat, 26010 Greenfield Rd., Oak Park MI 48237, ph.: 248-968-1190. This highly recommended, independent bookshop, which carries the *Fifth Estate*, is located in the Lincoln Center mall.

Another indication of the resurgence of anarchism is the number and success of anarchist book fairs across the continent this year. Since April they have been held in San Francisco, Chicago, Baltimore, and Montreal. All venues promise another in 2001.

Stay out of the Malls! Compost the catalogs! If you need gifts for birthdays, weddings, anniversary or holidays, why not skip capitalist enterprises and buy from movement sources.

Subscriptions to radical publications is one present many of us send to family and friends, plus books from independent sellers (such as, ahem, the *Fifth Estate*), or donations in the honoree's name.

The issue was put together by a collective of historians and *Journal* editors—current and former—to give the full scope of a movement committed to "No compromise In Defense of Mother Earth!" See subscription on this page for information.

Another good gift would be Norman Nawrocki's newest book, *No Masters! No Gods! Dare to Dream*. It's his third collection of urban tall tales, short fiction, "news" poems, dreams, rants and rhymes, some of which are from his theater musical and cabarets.

Over 100,000 people saw his last show about date rape and violence against women. He is currently touring Canada with his newest comedy cabaret about homophobia, "My Dick & Other Manly Tales."

Order from AK Press, POB 40682, San Francisco CA 94140 or www.akpress.org. The book is \$9.95 plus postage. Also, ask AK for their latest catalog of titles.

Were you beaten or arrested in Seattle?

A team of movement lawyers announced in October the filing of a class action suit against the City of Seattle, its mayor, and the city's former police chief for gross violations of protesters' constitutional rights during last year's WTO protests.

If you were unfairly arrested (who wasn't?) or mistreated by the Seattle cops, contact lead attorney, Steve Berman at 206623-7292, or go the Seattle Indy-Media Collective site at www.seattle.indymedia.org.

The suit is spearheaded by the Trial Lawyers for Public Justice, a national public interest law firm. Although initially brought on behalf of four individuals, the number of plaintiffs may reach 600, all of whom were arrested during the late November/early December 1999 protests, both within and outside of the so-called "no protest zone."

We know that cops are the paid protectors of the rulers, and that suits like this aren't going to stop their repressive and brutal behavior, but the suit seems like a

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Paul Wright, editor of *Prison Legal News* (PLN), and Jailhouse Lawyer Vice President of the National Lawyers Guild, was placed in disciplinary segregation for breaking an absurd rule limiting the number of envelopes an inmate can have in his cell to 40.

The screws at the McNeil Island pen in Washington state tried to use this minor violation as an opportunity to keep Paul in the isolation unit for months, then transfer him to a maximum security facility.

Even though Paul and his cellmate testified that the envelopes were split almost evenly between them, the Washington State corrections officials convicted him, hoping to interfere with the publication of PLN. The newsletter recently celebrated its 10th anniversary of exposing the brutality, mismanagement, and corruption rampant in lock-ups across the country.

The PLN staff on the outside mobilized its subscribers and the warden received

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What did the CIA's mad scientists give Kaczynski? Did the experiment's long-term effects help tilt him into the Unabomber's homicidal rampages? The CIA's mind experiment program was vast. How many other human time bombs were thus primed? How many of them have exploded?

—Alexander Cockburn and
Jeffery St. Clair

FE Note: Kaczynski, reached in prison, denied being given "anything to eat or

of anarchist book fairs across the continent this year. Since April they have been held in San Francisco, Chicago, Baltimore, and Montreal. All venues promise another in 2001.

Stay out of the Malls! Compost the catalogs! If you need gifts for birthdays, weddings, anniversary or holidays, why not skip capitalist enterprises and buy from movement sources.

Subscriptions to radical publications is one present many of us send to family and friends, plus books from independent sellers (such as, ahem, the *Fifth Estate*), or donations in the honoree's name.

One welcome present can be the *Sling-shot* organizer pocket calendar, put out by the long-running Bay Area anarchist newspaper of the same name. The organizer is a 160-page, pocket-sized, day planner with radical historical notes, phone book, menstrual calendar, contact list, and more. They're \$5 each; four for \$16, postpaid.

Send check or well concealed cash to Slingshot Collective, 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley CA 94705. Large orders call 510-540-0751. Funds raised go to support the paper.

Another good choice is the *Earth First! Journal*, which just celebrated its 20th year of publishing. This edition is experimenting with a magazine format, rather than tabloid, a tree-free cover wrap, and 100 percent post-consumer waste newsprint.

contact lead attorney, Steve Berman at 206623-7292, or go the Seattle Indy-Media Collective site at www.seattle.indymedia.org.

The suit is spearheaded by the Trial Lawyers for Public Justice, a national public interest law firm. Although initially brought on behalf of four individuals, the number of plaintiffs may reach 600, all of whom were arrested during the late November/early December 1999 protests, both within and outside of the so-called "no protest zone."

We know that cops are the paid protectors of the rulers, and that suits like this aren't going to stop their repressive and brutal behavior, but the suit seems like a good idea if for no other reason than to keep public pressure on the police and perhaps win some pocket change for those subjected to their brutal tactics.

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Earth First!

is the publication of the radical environmental movement, with stories and photos of front-line direct action around the world. The *EF! Journal* explains how you can take action, explores biocentric philosophy, discusses eco-sabotage and action how-to's, critiques reform environmentalism; with interviews, reviews, poetry and a rowdy letters column. (8 issues, 36 pgs.) **FREE TRIAL ISSUE**

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Letters to the Fifth Estate



Fifth Estate Letters Policy

We welcome letters commenting on our articles, stating opinions, or giving reports of events in your area. We don't guarantee to print everything received, but all letters are read by our staff and considered for publication.

Typed letters or ones on disk are appreciated, but not required. Length should not exceed two, double-spaced pages. If you are interested in writing longer responses, please contact us.

Give Credit

Dear Fifth Estate:

The response to the letter you published in the last issue, "Shades of Berkman" left the impression that this

mistake, we were aware of the Berkman story, and thought all along of "taking care of his unfinished business." J [name withheld] is a true anarchist here, deserving whatever support the community can give. He's also dealing with serious kidney problems down in that Super-Max hell-hole, and, of course, not getting the care he needs.

A prisoner in Pennsylvania

Habit Perturbs

Dear Comrades:

In your latest issue, you make a plea for old copies of the Fifth Estate, specifically, nos. 347 and 351. I dug those up and enclosed them for your use.

I really enjoy the FE, but I must admit I'm occasionally perturbed by your habit of trashing any and all anarchist theorists or movements that disagree with your own views. Maybe you don't like everything Chomsky or Bookchin advocates, but let's be realistic—they're on our side. I think Voltairine de Cleyre was right on the money when she recommended an "anarchism without labels." We should spend our time denouncing the forces of repression, not attacking each other. But I don't suppose my opinion is going to matter to you.

Anyway, keep up the (generally) good work. I hope you can make use of those old copies.

Richard Kidd
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

FE responds: Thanks for the papers. Of course, what you say matters; why would you think otherwise? Your advice is generally good, but perhaps best directed at one of the parties you counsel unity with. Murray Bookchin's screed, *Social Anarchism versus Life Style Anarchism*, doesn't get much more polemical or nasty.

'60s Street Fighter

To the Fifth Estate:

Regarding the Seattle issue; while I'm

paying any attention to you. I know many anarchists coast-to-coast and most of them have never heard of *FE* and most of them that have heard of it consider it a bad joke, much like your reportage of IWW political maneuvers.

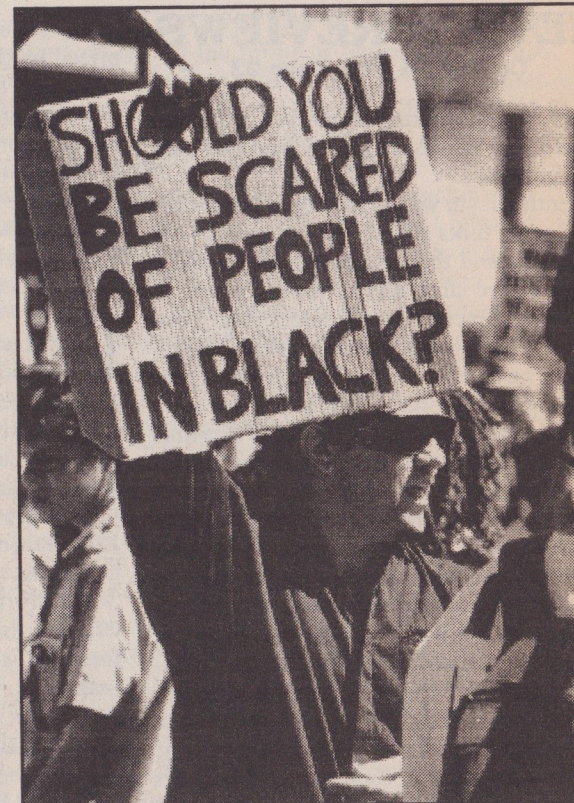
I also want to take issue with Walker Lane's pacifist, half-reasoned rant (see "The Unabomber's Unending 15 Minutes of Fame"). Lane writes that militants often make messes that "has to be cleaned up by those committed to long range organizing." Leftist long range organizing has a 100-year plus record of failure in this country, and (surprise!) it's not because of impatient, armed strugglers. It's because of people like Lane—Know Nothings.

Lane writes that he doesn't have any problem with "breaking windows, trashing cars or fighting cops." Typical leftist bullshit; he doesn't mind violence as long as it's a losing gesture, as long as defeat or meaninglessness is assured.

Some of us have read mucho history and learned from it. If Lane believes that "real (political) work" is possible that "won't wind up with blood on our shoes," he/she probably believes that David Watson is a radical intellectual. You can wash your shoes off, fucker, but a dead planet is dead forever.

You people lack desire and you lack coherence and you lack a feral nature. As someone who lives and works in wilderness, I couldn't believe that a "radical enviro" mag could have less relevancy to my life than the *Earth First! Journal*, but you have shown me it is possible to sink even lower into the bog.

Perhaps the industrial death machine will collapse in the next decades. If so, you people will have nothing to do with it. I can see *FE* going on forever, a bunch of octogenarians still bragging about what they shouted at some demo in the 60s.



Demonstrator outside Los Angeles Police Headquarters, during the Democratic Convention, August 2000. —photo/Hans Bennett

Castro's Cuba.

Kevin Coogan
Long Island City, N.Y.

Citizen Cane responds: Rest easy for now, offended ideologues. The Cuban organic agriculture conference was postponed until May 2001, due to the bureaucratic ineptitude and indifference of the government agencies involved.

As for the above comments about my article, I really can't respond to them because they don't have any relation to what I wrote. They must be conditioned reflexes, preset to some agenda's position on the Cuba Question. Certainly, I don't condone the Cuban state's racket of repression and self-enrichment: like all governments, they exist to maintain their own power.

giving reports of events in your area. We don't guarantee to print everything received, but all letters are read by our staff and considered for publication.

Typed letters or ones on disk are appreciated, but not required. Length should not exceed two, double-spaced pages. If you are interested in writing longer responses, please contact us.

Give Credit

Dear Fifth Estate:

The response to the letter you published in the last issue, "Shades of Berkman," left the impression that this was not a successful escape, when in fact, it was! [FE Note: this refers to an account of a recent tunneling escape by inmates at the Western Penitentiary in Pittsburgh sent to us by one of the participants. The identical plan was attempted unsuccessfully by Alexander Berkman 100 years previously.]

True, everybody was recaptured within two weeks, so it wasn't *real* successful, but the point is, six people got out of that tunnel, and all made it from Pittsburgh to Houston and were certainly "at large" in the sense that no one knew where any of them might be, until they made various mistakes and got caught.

C'mon, gang, give credit where credit is due. That was one of the greatest escape stories ever to happen, and you made it out to sound like they got caught before they even made it out! This was Hollywood extravaganza stuff with power tools, home-made keys, various gizmos and contraptions made to order for various tasks, synchronized watches, close calls, *all under the swine's nose!!!*

Then later, evading a SWAT team that is claiming on TV that they have you surrounded and you'll never make it out of the swamps (this is in Texas), but you still get away! That's just a quick highlight reel.

This was classic stuff. And, make no

Richard Kidd
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

FE responds: Thanks for the papers. Of course, what you say matters; why would you think otherwise? Your advice is generally good, but perhaps best directed at one of the parties you counsel unity with. Murray Bookchin's screed, *Social Anarchism versus Life Style Anarchism*, doesn't get much more polemical or nasty.

'60s Street Fighter

To the Fifth Estate:

Regarding the Seattle issue; while I'm in accordance with the Black Bloc, I can see Michael Albert's viewpoint [see "On Trashing and Movement Building," Spring 2000 FE], having been both a street fighter in the 'sixties, and someone who, being temporarily bonded to the May Day Tribe, had to talk Trots out of starting a riot in NYC in the aftermath of Attica, seeing it as a place where families were.

Isn't Albert the one who, in the 'seventies, tried to follow Guerin's path of a libertarian Marxism?

Tom Rathgeber
Coram, N.Y.

Gave Up FE

Editors [sic]:

Although I gave up on FE several years ago, for some reason I bought the Spring 2000 issue. I'll never make the mistake again. Apparently, FE is sliding into green (?) leftism. You publish avowed Marxists like Michael Albert (doesn't he have a magazine of his own to bore the public with?), Roxanne Dunbar and Alex Cockburn.

Elsewhere there's "Organic Cuba," an essay that says nothing about its subtitle, "Farming & Politics," and some delusional, wishful thinking about Russian capitalism.

Please, guys, give it up. No one is

David Watson is a radical intellectual. You can wash your shoes off, fucker, but a dead planet is dead forever.

You people lack desire and you lack coherence and you lack a feral nature. As someone who lives and works in wilderness, I couldn't believe that a "radical enviro" mag could have less relevancy to my life than the *Earth First! Journal*, but you have shown me it is possible to sink even lower into the bog.

Perhaps the industrial death machine will collapse in the next decades. If so, you people will have nothing to do with it. I can see FE going on forever, a bunch of octogenarians still bragging about what they shouted at some demo in the 60s.

Check out Antipathy Zine (\$2 from POB 11703, Eugene OR 97440) to just see how irrelevant you old, hippie fools are.

John Mulberg
Tulsa, Okla.

Walker Lane responds: I'm not quite sure what our crimes are that invoke such an ugly and ageist response (I certainly *hope* I'm doing this when I'm 80). If the FE is not radical enough or relevant enough for you, so be it; go read another publication.

By the way, you don't inform us what your radical practice is that makes us so "leftist" by comparison.

Besides the authors we published commenting about Seattle who we realize are not writing from an anarchist perspective, you neglect to mention the ones who are, including our front page lead story by a participant in the Direct Action Movement, as well as the Black Bloc statement which is supported by the zine you mention.

Kiss-Ass References

To the Fifth Estate:

Please, no more bullshit stories about aliens creating the state (see "Did the City and State Come From Outer Space?," Summer 1999) or kiss-ass references to Fidel

Citizen Cane responds: Rest easy for now, offended ideologues. The Cuban organic agriculture conference was postponed until May 2001, due to the bureaucratic ineptitude and indifference of the government agencies involved.

As for the above comments about my article, I really can't respond to them because they don't have any relation to what I wrote. They must be conditioned reflexes, preset to some agenda's position on the Cuba Question. Certainly, I don't condone the Cuban state's racket of repression and self-enrichment: like all governments, they exist to maintain their own power.

When I'm on the island, my Cuban friends and I spend most of our time playing cat-and-mouse with the cops (my game here in Detroit as well), so I have the motivation to understand how the incarceration game is played down there. Come check the place out sometime, but make sure your papers are in order!

Against Technology

Dear Fellow Anarchists:

The munificence of Internet addresses and level of Internet entanglement taking grip in the anarchist community is disturbing.

I counted 35 URLs (or whatever you call them) in the Spring 2000 *Fifth Estate*, basically terminating each article and brief. I challenge the reader to count those in the present issue. Pretty scary that a minuscule milieu supposedly most fervently

Moving?

If you move without notifying us directly you will miss your next issue. Even if you file an address change at the Post Office, they will not forward Periodicals mail. Please write before moving and include your old address and zip code. Thanks.

against technology (or, for the old-guard, the "misuse" thereof) proffers this much Internet crap as if we need yet another form of technology to be hog-tied to.

I've read that the "Net" (barf) played a key role in mobilization for the WTO and IMF protests, so I do think twice about wholly vilifying it. If this asinine medium has the potential to broaden and strengthen the movement, then (ugh) use it for that. But for entertainment, purchasing, correspondence, even "love letters" as Sunfrog and a growing herd of anarchists do?

One excerpt in particular from the last FE caught my attention: "the failure of anarchists' ideas to take on mass expression is a complex question, but suffice it to say most people at this time are mesmerized enough by the dominant culture to remain mainly passive and indifferent to our message. We are not living in a fascist police state. We have all the latitude in the world to organize counter-communities where revolutionary values and a culture of resistance predominate, but unfortunately with a few exceptions, not very many people are interested at this time." (Walker Lane, "The Unabomber's Unending 15 Minutes of Fame") What mesmerizes people more than ever now? The Internet.

I remind readers that techno compromises like this endorse violence and myriad monstrosities much, much greater than WTO protest smashed windows and whatever other ceremoniously lamented direct actions.

I live on an Indian reservation. Just less than 100 years ago we here led a semi-nomadic, hunter-gatherer existence (rather than the unflaggingly referred to 10,000 years for other parts of the world).

Put another way, in under 100 years we've been dragooned to adjust to an agricultural, an industrial, and an information revolution (and we have the highest alcoholism, drug use and suicide rates of any race to prove it). It is a sad, sad motherfucking story to behold the faces of these people now glued to computer screens, mesmerized.

I admonish people if they lapse into the www.makemepuke.com shit, to employ it

Demonstrators confront Philadelphia mounted police at the Republican Party convention, August 2000. photo/Greg Fuchs



The Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Action Network (APLAN) is a prisoner-guided initiative formed to provide legal aid and outside support for imprisoned anarchists and their allies. Anarchists in prison experience the prison-industrial complex first-hand and are thus subject to a variety of unusual punishments and restrictions:

For example, Oregon prisons have labeled anarchists as a "gang, and use this to justify tampering with their mail, denying them books and literature as a "security threat," and even placing anarchists in isolation units. Helping these prisoners and others like them involves substantial difficulties, but it is a challenge the anti-authoritarian movement needs to embrace.

Along with helping prisoners maintain their human dignity and providing a

immediately to the Web to check it out!).

ELF: Stay Out of Wisconsin! & A Response

FE Note: The following is an exchange between mainstream Wisconsin environmentalists and the publisher of such books as *The Last Days of Christ the Vampire* and *The Nihilist Princess* regarding the actions of the Earth Liberation Front (ELF).

As the confrontation with capitalist institutions and technology sharpens, the debate over tactics takes on greater importance. Reader response is encouraged.

Write to III Publishing for a complete list of their titles at the address following the letters.

To ELF:

The undersigned members of the Wisconsin environmental movement have a simple request for the Earth Liberation Front: stay out of Wisconsin.

The recent destruction of 500 trees in a federal forestry laboratory near Rhinelander, for which the ELF claimed responsibility, was an act as cowardly as it was stupid. The trees were not genetically engineered, which is your stated reason for the attack. However, even if they had been, we condemn your use of vandalism to make your point. Moreover, ELF members refuse to take responsibility for their violent acts. The principle laid down by responsible activists is that those who commit acts of civil disobedience should be willing to suffer the consequences of their actions. You pointlessly destroyed a legitimate long-term research project, committed \$750,000 in vandalism and then retreated to the shadows without attempting to justify your acts or to take personal responsibility for them.

Your website openly advocates the use of vandalism and violence. It suggests that power lines should be sabotaged, transformers blown up, computers should be smashed, buildings should be flooded and

ever other ceremoniously lamented direct actions.

I live on an Indian reservation. Just less than 100 years ago we here led a semi-nomadic, hunter-gatherer existence (rather than the unflaggingly referred to 10,000 years for other parts of the world).

Put another way, in under 100 years we've been dragooned to adjust to an agricultural, an industrial, and an information revolution (and we have the highest alcoholism, drug use and suicide rates of any race to prove it). It is a sad, sad motherfucking story to behold the faces of these people now glued to computer screens, mesmerized.

I admonish people if they lapse into the www.makemepuke.com shit, to employ it only to further our causes. Finally, if and when the revolution is successful, be prepared to yield these idiot boxes with nary a whimper.

**In revulsion to compromises,
Mosa Charlo
Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont.**

FE reply: Well said; we agree. We put list URLs because many comrades include those as part of their addresses, and the Internet has become almost the common method within the anarchist movement for communication.

However, we realize, even their inclusion implies an endorsement, and adds to the pressure for those not wired into to the system to conform. To be "off-line" comes to mean being out of the loop.

What to do about it is problematic. We increasingly depend on the Internet for alternative information, and to contact one another. Our paper is laid out on a computer, and soon newspaper printers will accept our layout only on disks.

I think we're stuck with these infernal engines (at least until the revolution) unless we want to take the route of the editor of the anarchist publication, *The Match*, who uses half-century and older equipment and prints his magazine himself. He scavenges and cannibalizes if parts are

Dem
Part



The Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Action Network (APLAN) is a prisoner-guided initiative formed to provide legal aid and outside support for imprisoned anarchists and their allies. Anarchists in prison experience the prison-industrial complex first-hand and are thus subject to a variety of unusual punishments and restrictions.

For example, Oregon prisons have labeled anarchists as a "gang, and use this to justify tampering with their mail, denying them books and literature as a "security threat," and even placing anarchists in isolation units. Helping these prisoners and others like them involves substantial difficulties, but it is a challenge the anti-authoritarian movement needs to embrace.

Along with helping prisoners maintain their human dignity and providing a means for their contribution to outside struggles, APLAN wants to strengthen anarchist practice as a whole. We hope to provide sound legal aid and support for anarchist prisoners, not out of respect for the repressive legal apparatus, but in the spirit of revolutionary solidarity and for the abolition of prisons. The sharing of research material and resources is an important part of this and is underway. There is one lawyer potentially willing to take on anarchist oriented cases, but we will need more funds and knowledge to launch this effectively. We welcome further contact with those who have specific knowledge of legal matters.

Recent APLAN activities include distribution of pamphlets by prisoners Rob Thaxton and Harold Thompson, a hip-hop/DJ/spoken word benefit show, selective financial support to prisoners, and contact with inmates and support groups worldwide. Two APLAN bulletins have been issued, the latest of which includes excerpts from several prisoners about APLAN's role and priorities. A benefit CD project is in the works largely due to the efforts of Texas prisoner Christopher Plummer. Future benefits are a financial necessity! We also made a public intervention with flyers, speeches and a banner at a 4th of July event in Portland. A video night is forthcoming, as well as a website.

We hope for broad involvement in various ways from throughout the anarchist movement. Please spread the word and help us make important contacts so we can better fight this symptom of authoritarianism, global capital, and power in all of its forms. We can be contacted at APLAN, 818 SW 3rd Ave., PMB #354, Portland, OR 97204

needed, and has even done blacksmithing when no other alternative was available to repair his antiques. It's an admirable effort and a critique of technology in action, but not a route any of us here are prepared to take.

Also, everything conspires against you. Just for a laugh, I entered www.

makemepuke.com to see what would come up and, as I suspected, it's an operational URL. The banner on the page advertises it as the "award winning top fetish site for the last two years," and is filled with images so gross I refuse to even suggest what they are (although I'm certain this will mean hundreds of our readers will go

to make your point. Moreover, ELF members refuse to take responsibility for their violent acts. The principle laid down by responsible activists is that those who commit acts of civil disobedience should be willing to suffer the consequences of their actions. You pointlessly destroyed a legitimate long-term research project, committed \$750,000 in vandalism and then retreated to the shadows without attempting to justify your acts or to take personal responsibility for them.

Your website openly advocates the use of vandalism and violence. It suggests that power lines should be sabotaged, transformers blown up, computers should be smashed, buildings should be flooded and trees should be spiked. It suggests that nonviolence has violent consequences. We reject ELF's use of violence and its cowardice. ELF's methods are both morally reprehensible and damaging to the legitimate environmental movement. Stay out of Wisconsin.

Signed: David Cieslewicz, 1000 Friends of Wisconsin, Caryl Terrell, Sierra Club, David Wood, Center on Wisconsin Strategies, Gary Werner, Sierra Club, Spencer Black, Assembly Environment Committee, Todd Ambs, River Alliance of Wisconsin, Peter McKeever, Heartland Environmental Consultants, Carl Zichella, Midwest Regional Staff Director, Sierra Club

Fellow Bipedal Apes:

This letter is in response to your letter of July 28, 2000, sent to the Earth Liberation Front care of III Publishing. Since III Publishing has no direct involvement with ELF, but posts information about many environmental and liberation groups on our web site, I have posted your letter to the site, where others may see it. Its exact address is <http://www.iiipublishing.com/elfto.htm>. I am also posting this response there.

My personal take on your letter is that

Continued on page 26

you are confused about both environmental and moral issues.

You say ELF claimed responsibility for destroying trees in a federal forestry laboratory in Wisconsin. You say the trees were not genetically engineered. Why would anyone in their right mind believe anything corporations or national governments say at this point? Have you not noticed that you have been lied to, over and over again? Corporations and their wholly-owned governments and news media are now habitually lying about ELF actions, consistently pretending that the targets were not engaged in practices harmful to the environment. It's the standard line.

You call the ELF action cowardly. So now environmentalists who risk their lives to save the environment are cowardly, but those who run paper-pushing organizations are what? Brave?

I doubt very much anyone is "using vandalism" to make a "point." ELF is destroying the things that are being used by corporations and government to destroy the earth. This is called direct action. In my opinion, given how rapidly the earth is being destroyed and how little is being done about it, a lot more direct action is needed.

You say my Web site "openly advocates the use of vandalism and violence." Actually, my web site advocates minimizing violence by defending the earth and her biped apes against institutionalized destruction and violence. You work with the government of Wisconsin and the US Federal Government, which are both violent organizations. The latter killed over two million persons in the Philippines and over another two million in Vietnam; murdered most of the aboriginal peoples on this continent (estimates vary), and continue their murdering ways on a daily basis. They are murdering children in Iraq and peasants in Columbia as I write.

You say, "ELF's methods are both morally reprehensible and damaging to the legitimate environmental movement." I presume that means you think you are the legitimate environmental movement. Need I comment on such arrogance.

You say, "Stay out of Wisconsin." You

hope some day you join this struggle to save humanity and the environment.

William P. Meyers
III Publishing
P.O. Box 1581
Gualala CA 95445

Dear Fifth Estate:

Here's money for another year and some for your prisoner of war fund.

Have you changed your editorial position? I have come to appreciate your fine theoretical work, post-Situationist critiques of technology and workerist society in general, and various other aspects of industrial society.

It seems you have now got a somewhat more typical leftist publication (covering current events six months old, solidarity, and so called anarchist news); a kind of Love and Rage version of the world. I hope you are not going through an anarchist vanguard period.

Let's have more theoretical analysis and less reinterpreted current events or class struggle news.

Gary Rumor
Venice, Calif.

Brains of Anarchy

Dear Fifth Estate:

I bought the Summer 2000 *Fifth Estate* from one of your touts at the Avalon Bakery in Detroit. "A Humble Call to Subvert the Human Empire," by David Watson was first-rate. Michael Albert should be restricted to the "rubric" of Z magazine.

I was amazed to see John Zerzan shown on TV [FE note: "60 Minutes-II"] as the brains of U.S. anarchy. For years, one was exposed to his tedious tracts. I was inspired to hear the breaking of Starbucks' glass.

Dimmy Nassar
Detroit

Radical Alternative

Dear Fifth Estate:

Thank you for including the articles by Michael Albert and the ACME communi-

attends this approach betrays the inverted egomania of those who would be morally pure.

By contrast, the black blocs, by all their actions, but especially by their refusal to sacrifice themselves to the police and judicial system, and their ability to "unarrest" comrades, assert their own rule. Such acts are not petitions; they are declarations of autonomy, of freedom, of living without having to ask for permission.

The equation of property trashing with genuine violence has been dispelled so many times that I won't bother reviewing it here. It is enough to say that to focus on that question is to completely miss the point, to voluntarily forfeit any possible inspiration to be had from the black bloc actions. Albert's laying of the blame for police brutalizing passive demonstrators at the feet of the radical activists' "provocation" is ridiculous.

The cops and nobody else are responsible for their unwarranted violence against persons, period. Second, what did the passive demonstrators expect? Cops routinely intimidate, beat up, and even murder people for doing nothing in cities across this country. An absence of radical mobile tactics is in no way a guarantee of civil treatment by the cops.

We live in a world of rules and controls, and compromise our values and vision in large and small ways everyday in order to simply survive. Even progressive movements—by virtue of their mass aspirations—demand that individuals toe a line. Our very language imprisons us in a one-dimensional logos. Why would anyone who believes in and dares to hope for a world of freedom deny the inspiration to be readily taken from the black blocs of Seattle?

Southside on Strike
Chicago

Walker Lane responds: Are these really mutually exclusive tactics? Didn't they work well in tandem in Seattle and other places? As long as actions are autonomous of the state and the practitioners are willing to violate its rules, don't both suggest a break with daily life if either were generalized.

For instance, we fought the placement of the world's largest open burn incinerator in the midst of our neighborhood a few years ago. One of the many tactics we employed was a sit-in across the driveway of the facility once it was ready to go online. Only 17 people took part (not including me) in what was, because of its limited numbers, a symbolic action which only lasted a few minutes (although we got good publicity out of it).

Had *thousands* nonviolently blockaded the entrance, suddenly it would have no longer been symbolic, but instead a powerful act of citizen resistance. I don't think that would be "pacifism as pathology" as some have arrogantly suggested. After all, while it was the glass breakers who got the most attention in the corporate media, it was the nonviolent sit-ins in Seattle that actually stopped the WTO proceedings.

If people want to break corporate franchise store windows, fine. I think the resulting publicity, that was part good photo op and part attempt to smear all the demonstrators with images the media thinks will discredit them, didn't hurt anarchism a bit.

The trashers probably shot our philosophy into the homes of millions thanks to the media, and contrary to what several conservative anarchists have written, probably has done more good than harm.

Anyway, no one has really shown what works and what doesn't except on a very limited scale, so let's cool down the condemnations and let people work out their own strategies.

**Over
35
years**



the government of Wisconsin: the US Federal Government, which are both violent organizations. The latter killed over two million persons in the Philippines and over another two million in Vietnam; murdered most of the aboriginal peoples on this continent (estimates vary), and continue their murdering ways on a daily basis. They are murdering children in Iraq and peasants in Columbia as I write.

You say, "ELF's methods are both morally reprehensible and damaging to the legitimate environmental movement." I presume that means you think you are the legitimate environmental movement. Need I comment on such arrogance.

You say, "Stay out of Wisconsin." You don't own Wisconsin, though maybe your corporate sponsors think they own most of it. Certainly they own the politicians there, or the environment would not be in such trouble. But in reality no one owns the earth.

I hate to break the news to you, but it's highly unlikely anyone would go to Wisconsin to do the action you described. I believe that if you could poll the people of who live in the artificially constructed legal fiction, the State of Wisconsin, and people could answer without fear, many more people would support ELF-style actions than you can imagine.

Why can't biotechnology food even be labeled as such in this country? Why can corporations flood the landscape with Roundup? Are these not acts of violence? If a company is doing its best to poison me and the earth, have I no right to defend myself, my community, and the earth?

Perhaps you would criticize the French resistance during World War II for engaging in sabotage against the Nazis, or the Viet Cong for defending their country from U.S. invaders.

The Third World War is the war against the environment by the multinational corporations and their flunky governments.

I admire the courage of those who do ELF style actions and wish them well. I

was first-rate. Michael Albert should be restricted to the "rubric" of Z magazine.

I was amazed to see John Zerzan shown on TV [FE note: "60 Minutes-II"] as the brains of U.S. anarchy. For years, one was exposed to his tedious tracts. I was inspired to hear the breaking of Starbucks' glass.

Dimmy Nassar
Detroit

Radical Alternative

Dear Fifth Estate:

Thank you for including the articles by Michael Albert and the ACME communique in your last issue. Together they make for an excellent discussion of the black bloc's window trashing mobile tactics in Seattle. While I appreciate Albert's non-reactionary evaluation, I disagree with his conclusions. At the same time, the ACME collective's eloquent statement lacks one major point.

And that is: by their actions, the black blocs made explicitly clear the difference between autonomy and disobedience. It is in this sense that the black blocs offered and momentarily realized the radical alternative, not merely with regard to tactics, but vision as well.

Those engaged in civil disobedience were and are essentially petitioning their rulers, asking to be heard, to be *granted* a hearing. (It should be noted that this *a priori* self-subordination to the authorities can be incredibly disempowering, and, for that reason, reformist strategy ought to be critiqued as frequently as are more radical tactics.) Civil disobedience is a squeaky wheel tactic used by those without enough money to buy the rulers' attention. The aim is to practice disobedience as speech, and thereby call attention to an injustice, with the hope that guilty, shame, and bad PR lead to a change in heart in the powers that be. The culture of self-sacrifice and self-purification that inevitably

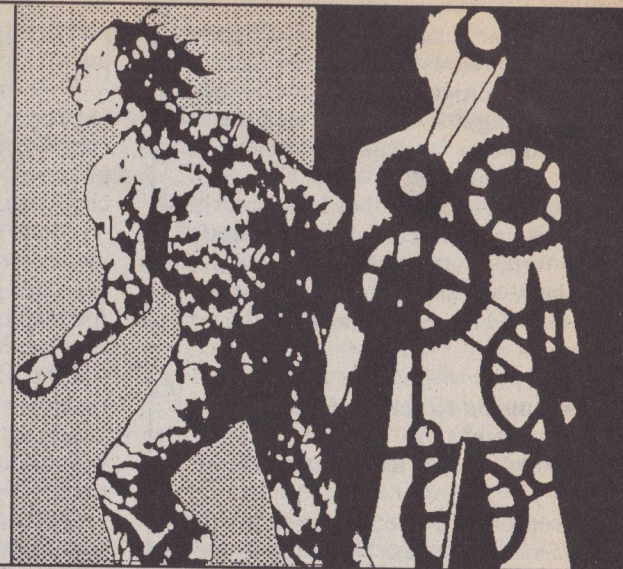
line. Our very language imprisons us in a one-dimensional logos. Why would anyone who believes in and dares to hope for a world of freedom deny the inspiration to be readily taken from the black blocs of Seattle?

Southside on Strike
Chicago

phy into the homes of millions thanks to the media, and contrary to what several conservative anarchists have written, probably has done more good than harm.

Anyway, no one has really shown what works and what doesn't except on a very limited scale, so let's cool down the condemnations and let people work out their own strategies.

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Judaism and Anarchism Conference

Continued from page 2

anarchist movement. The session included talks by U.S. anarchists Audrey Goodfriend and Judith Malina, founder (with Julian Beck) of the Living Theatre.

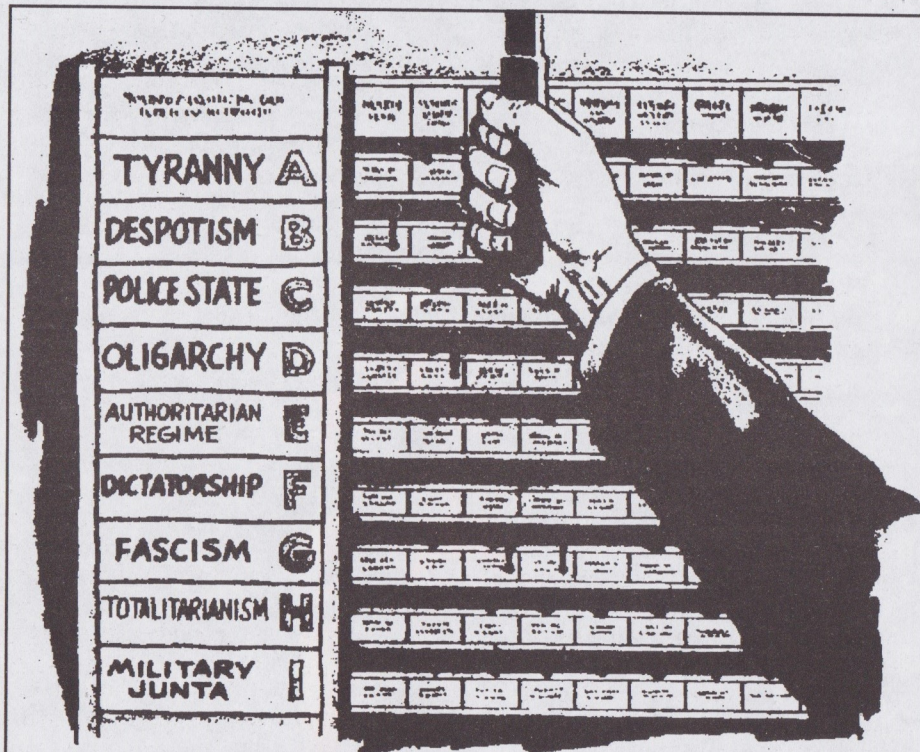
The evening before the conference some of us, including several people who collaborate on the *Fifth Estate*, were walking the streets of Venice and noticed the windows of a bookstore spray painted with large, black, circle A's. The store was closed, but Russian language literature was displayed in the windows.

Without an Italian present to explain the meaning of the graffiti, we surmised that it was probably a communist bookstore. We also noted that posters advertising the anarchist conference pasted up around the city had been torn down. The next day, when we arrived at the conference auditorium, we saw someone had spray painted the outside of the building with mild anti-anarchist sentiments.

During the entire conference, two carabinieri patrolled the street outside. At first, I assumed they were there to protect the anarchists from fascist or communist attack, but was told by someone better informed that the cops were patrolling to "discourage anarchists from violent activity."

Evening activities following the talks were held outdoors in the cloister of the Faculty of Architecture, and were the high point of the weekend for me. They included communal dinners, music (classical guitar, folk, classical, and klezmer), dancing, and Jewish jokes told in Yiddish and translated into English by Goodfriend. One of the highlights was a performance of the Living Theatre's play, "Love and Politics."

The evening atmosphere was warm and lively, with lots of conversation and interaction. I was able to meet and talk extensively people with whom I had previously only corresponded as well.



**Don't Vote and the choice is theirs.
Vote and the choice is theirs.**

SAY NO TO NADER: DON'T VOTE!

Continued from page 10

which supports it, and a vision of a new world much more radical than anything proposed by the Nader campaign. A recent Nader release, for instance, calls for the "need to encourage small and medium sized businesses to locate in inner city areas." Those radicals who back Nader find themselves operating under the constraints required to run a respectable, credible campaign to the point where they can sound much like the tepid reformers they often condemn.

What is needed is neither to communicate on their terms or to sharpen our presentation as actors in the capitalist media, but rather to strengthen the

So far, the power we've exerted has been in the streets, but ultimately that can only be an expression of deeper roots sunk in alternative communities that expel definitions of capital and substitute those of a revolutionary vision.

This occurred in working class districts in many Western European cities in the 1920s and '30s, and exists in nascent form today in permanent autonomous zones of coops, info shops, and communes.

Let's see if we can get the other half of the electorate, who "DO NOT VOTE," to join us. According to the

lieve we can truly change the world (and not just our commune's profit margin) to make it a worthy document and resource for creative transformation.

Mumia Appeal

Continued from page 2

the first day he was shot and beaten by the Philadelphia cops: the ruling powers want him dead. Our task is to take on the reigning political and media racket to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The hour is late. The end of Mumia's appeals are looming. The lawyers will take care of the necessary legalities. We need to accelerate the direct action that has been the motor force in the Free Mumia movement. Participate in local activities. In Detroit, call 313-869-8363. Contact the International Friends and Family of Mumia, POB 19709, Philadelphia PA 19709, or at www.mumia.org.

Contact Prison Radio, PO Box 41174 San Francisco CA 94141 for the book and CD, *All Things Censored*, with an introduction by Alice Walker.

Tales From The Planet

Continued from page 2

Amnesty International and the Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights, and millions of Americans.

Buses carrying Peltier supporters to

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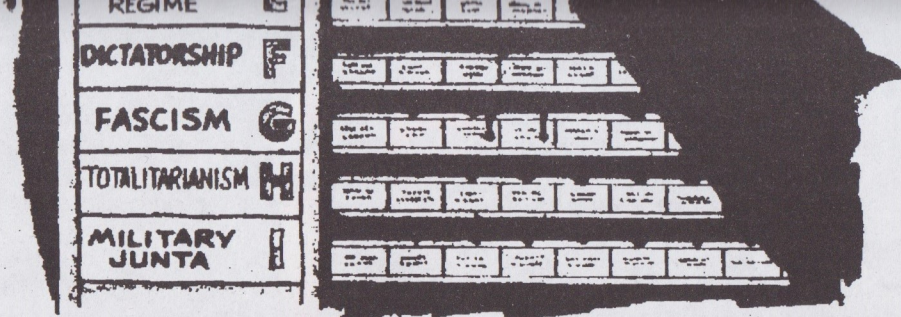
The evening atmosphere was warm and lively, with lots of conversation and interaction. I was able to meet and talk extensively with people with whom I had previously only corresponded, as well as meet some young and older people involved in spreading the ideas of anarchism.

The general consensus was that the conference sessions were too academic, without enough group discussion, and too removed from the contemporary anarchist movement. Nonetheless, it was a multi-generational, international group of anarchists meeting and exchanging ideas. The people I met and spoke with were interesting and engaging, dedicated to education about anarchist principles, trying to live their lives based upon those principles, and putting forth a more truthful historic record.

The conference website can be viewed at <http://www.anarca-bolo.ch/csl/>.

—by Julie Herrada

Judi Bari bombing



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SAY NO TO NADER: DON'T VOTE!

Continued from page 10

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What is needed is neither to communicate on their terms or to sharpen our presentation as actors in the capitalist media, but rather to strengthen *our* media and to maintain sharp criticisms and actions against the dominant society.

A spokesperson for the support group said, "We can't wait to present this evidence to a jury and bring these agents of repression to justice."

More information or to donate funds Redwood Summer, PO Box 14720, Santa Rosa CA 95402; or on the Web at www.judibari.org. Also, please read Judi Bari's, *Timber Wars* (the text of which was subpoenaed by the FBI in this case), published at \$15, available through our book service, now \$10 (or pay full price and we'll donate the \$5 to the defense fund). Read the Summer 1990 *FE* which is available free for postage (\$1.13).

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Let's see if we can get the other half of the electorate, who "DO NOT VOTE," to join us. According to the Greens, we are the majority.

—Walker Lane

of the Communities Movement," for its unambiguous celebration of communities trying to appeal to the mainstream or participating in banking, e-commerce, and the Information Age.

Schaub implies that through education and outreach, communitarians will change the "wider culture" into a garden of non-violence and cooperation; however, his glib remarks like "building community is good business" suggest to me a watered-down, capitalistic version of communalism devoid of a radical spark and sadly recuperated by the dictates of the market.

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Amnesty International and the Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights, and millions of Americans.

Buses carrying Peltier supporters to New York are currently being organized. In Michigan, call 517-774-2508; nationally contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, PO Box 583, Lawrence KS 66044; phone: 785-842-5774; web: www.freepeltier.org. Free Leonard, now!

Every time KKK psychos and boneheads announce a racist rally in a small, Midwestern town, there is always a debate on how to best oppose them. Groups like Anti-Racist Action (ARA) think the most successful tactic is to directly confront the racists and fascists, and have done so on numerous occasions. Others, usually elected officials, church leaders and liberals, advocate boycotting the Klan rally site, and instead sponsor diversity rallies.

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—by Julie Herrada

Judi Bari bombing case to go to trial

Continued from page 7

out, “Who Killed Judi Bari?”

In the course of the law suit, attorneys for the two uncovered 7,000 pages of FBI and police files, and took 6,000 pages of testimony from agents and cops that confirmed the two agencies cooperated to illegally disrupt and destroy Earth First!’s 1990 Redwood Summer campaign of mass organizing to save Northern California’s old-growth forests.

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21st Century

Communes

Continued from page 17

munities from an anti-authoritarian perspective (and have written some of my own in *Hobos and Homesteaders* and *Utopian Prospects, Communal Projects*). For the critical reader looking for examples of how the communal movement has been absorbed by the techno-capitalist amoeba, one need look no further than Laird Schaub’s introductory essay, “The State

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While most of us, communitarian or not, must work for wages to survive in this society, I find it disturbing when success is equated with economic viability in ostensibly radical projects, and unfortunately, Schaub does just that in these otherwise down-to-earth remarks.

Despite the fact that everything marvelous, beautiful, risky, and revolutionary about libertarian commune-ism is too often discarded as naive idealism and youthful hubris, some communalists have not burned out their radical fire or sold out to counterculture-dot-com.

The Communities Directory includes examples of enough people who still be-

From The Planet

Continued from page 2

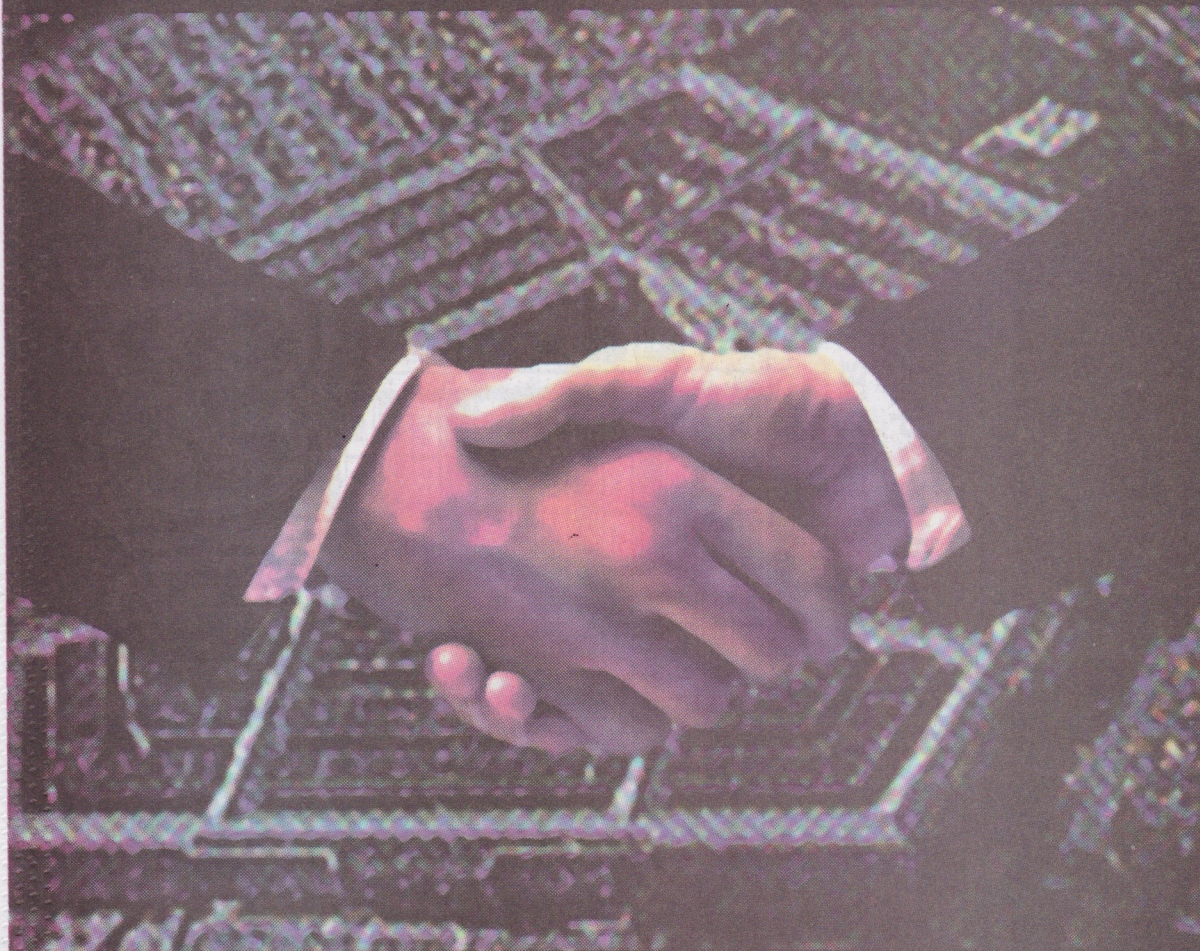
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When the Klan announced it was coming to Bowling Green, Ohio recently, a group constituted itself as the Unity Day Coalition and advocated showing opposition to the fascists by wearing a green ribbon, not attending the KKK rally, and, holding a candle light vigil. OK. let ‘em do it; understandably, everyone is not up for going toe-to-toe with cops and right-wing whackos. But the liberal group’s final point edged into the pathetic. They offered, “To assist the city, county, and law enforcement officials by helping to setup, take down, and clean the [KKK] rally site.” Hey, folks, you might want to dry clean the Klansmens’ robes and shine the cops’ shoes while you’re at it.

**The Government Says We
Should Worry About
Technology Falling Into The
Wrong Hands . . .**



**It already has . . .
Theirs!**

—collage/concept & materials: Bruce Clifton; design: Urbane Gorilla

Anarchists among the anti-WTO demonstrators in Prague, September 2000

